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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

VOL I. OCTOBER, 1919. NO. 5.

THE BURIAL-PLACE OF GENGHIS KHAN

BY
E. T. C. WERNER
H. B. M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW, (RETIRED)

SINOLOGISTS are aware that the burial-places of the Mongol emperors are unknown. This is due to the secrecy, observed by that race as to the sites where their dead sovereigns were interred. Concealment of the corpse in such a manner as to preclude theft of it or of the valuables deposited with it is a custom which has prevailed in many parts of the world. When inside one of the pyramids of Egypt I noticed a most ingenious device by which the large sarcophagus had been left empty, while the mummified body had been buried only a few feet off in the solid rock over which the pyramid had been constructed—thus giving the idea that the corpse had already been stolen. This was, of course, an exceptional case, for the mummified bodies were as a rule deposited inside the sarcophagi and other means of protection used, though the bodies were often stolen, sooner or later.

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The Mongols adopted a different method. They buried their dead emperors in level ground, and then caused the site to be trampled over by ten thousand horses, so as to obliterate all traces of the digging of the grave. "They neither made grave-mounds nor planted trees." The location of these "tombs" has thus been one of the unsolved problems of Mongol history.

A controversy has recently taken place between two learned Chinese scholars as to the location of the site of the grave of Genghis Khan, the great Mongol conqueror. The discussion, of which a translation made by me was published on pp. 379-396 of the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* for December, 1918 (issued April, 1919), is too long to be reproduced here. It waged round the question of the Kerulen River *versus* the country of the Ortous Mongols as the site of the burial-place of Genghis Khan, and the decision is undoubtedly in favour of the latter.

Mr. Chang, one of the learned scholars above referred to (whom I have the honour of calling my friend), whilst staying in the palace of the Prince of Taldi, met a Wandering Priest who, in reply to enquiry, said his name was T'ê-êrh-han, and that he was one of the guardians of the imperial tomb. On being asked which imperial tomb, he said that of Genghis Khan. In this way information was obtained and subsequently verified which proved the burial-place to be at Rache Tchurin (Ai-chin-ho-lo) in the country of the Ikh Chao League (I-k'o Chao), or Ortous Mongols. I quote the following passage from my translation:—

"The official guardian of the tomb is called 'Guardian of the Spirit resident on the Tomb.' There are five hundred families living at the tomb. Their style is T'ê-êrh-han. These T'ê-êrh-han have special rights under the Mongolian Banners. They pay no taxes. At times they go forth, as Wandering Priests, to beg alms; and if they go to any of the Mongolian Banners, these must give them sheep or oxen: they dare not refuse. But these five hundred families must only go out on these tours in turn. Seventy or eighty families must always stay at the tomb. They do not live in houses, but in tents or dwellings made of willow branches.

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"The tomb of Genghis Khan has no protecting wall, nor any *t'ing-êrh* or halls, but there are two enclosures formed of piled-up stones and screened by large, white, felt curtains. These two enclosures adjoin each other; the front one is for the sacrificial animals; the rear one, separated from it by a silk curtain, contains a stone coffin, in which the bones of Genghis Khan are preserved* The 21st day of the 3rd moon in every year is the date for sacrificing at the tomb. Before that date, in the open space on the north-eastern side, a large tent is erected, and the white stone coffin is respectfully carried out by a white horse and a white camel, and carefully placed in the middle of the tent. In front of it are arranged the bows, arrows, and carts belonging to the deceased; also the sacrificial animals. They then worship and pour out libations according to the rites. On the same day, the neighbouring princes, dukes, and other nobles also come in person to worship. Those who live far away to the north of the Shamo Desert or to the west of the Yellow River, send their official representatives to present sacrificial offerings. Even those living a thousand *li* away do not consider it too far to send their deputies. From inside the Great Wall, merchants of Chihli, Shansi, Shensi, and Ssŭch'uan bring their goods, camels, tea, cloth, and other things to exchange for the cattle and horses of the Mongols. The tents are set up in the open space and extend a distance of more than ten *li*, enormous numbers congregating to the amount of several tens of thousands. This lasts for seven or eight days, after which, having made their exchanges, they return home. It forms a splendid spectacle.

"The Prince of Taldi moreover said: 'The bows, arrows, and carts were all used by Genghis Khan personally; the bows and arrows are kept in the spirit tent; the carts are left on the sandhills of Chun-ko-êrh, and when the time for sacrificing approaches, they are respectfully brought to the tomb, in order that the deceased emperor may have the use

* This seems doubtful. In a subsequent part of the discussion it is stated that the bones of Genghis were buried in the ground, the things contained in the stone coffin being only relics left by him, such as clothes, crowns, knives, swords, etc.

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of them. The white horse and the white camel are provided by the seven Banners in turn; when they are old they are changed. At the time of changing a Lama priest is employed to recite several canons; then a silver tablet, specially prepared, is attached to the horse's mane. On ordinary days the horse is allowed to wander in the meadows without an attendant, but three days before the sacrifice it comes back of itself, and when the sacrifice is over it goes away again of itself. The horse is so keen about the sacrifice that during the whole day on which it is performed it stands waiting on the felt carpet outside the tent, without any necessity of being tied up, and neither eats nor drinks nor neighs nor moves. This is a miracle of the spirits."

Thus the accidental meeting of Mr. Chang with the Wandering Priest who visited the palace of the Prince of Taldi to solicit alms has thrown light on a point in Mongol history which otherwise might have remained unsettled, except in the minds of those Mongols who were in the secret, for a very long time to come.

I may add an incident not mentioned in the controversy which throws a lurid light on the ideas prevailing at a time when Magna Cartas and Habeas Corpus Acts were concepts which did not formulate themselves in the Oriental mind. Genghis Khan died in his travelling palace at Ha-la T'u, Sa-li Ch'uan, Kansu, and in order that it might not be known to what place his body was being taken for burial, everybody —man, woman, or child—met by the cortège on its journey to the Ortous country was promptly put to death. In this way, it is said, about thirty thousand people perished.

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LE GRAND PELERINAGE BOUDDHIQUE DE LANG-CHAN ET LES CINQ MONTAGNES DE TONG-TCHEOU

PAR

HENRI DORÉ S. J.

Article IV.—*Particularités physiques de la Montagne du Loup.*

I Roches et esplanades.

1° Le Rocher de la Lune de la mer. Ce rocher s'élève au N. E. de la montagne, comme un toit volant au-dessus de l'abîme; le caprice des poètes lui valut son nom. "Quand au bord de l'horizon la lune apparait au-dessus des flots et déchire les voiles de la nuit, il reçoit le premier baiser de ses rayons argentins."

En tout temps de l'année l'eau tombe goutte à goutte de son sommet; c'est pourquoi on lui à donné aussi le nom de Rocher qui distille les perles.

Communément le peuple l'appelle le Rocher de Koan-yng, parce que la pagode de Koan-yng est bâtie au bas de cet escarpement.

2° Le rocher de la Félicité céleste. Situé un peu à l'Est du précédent. A l'époque des Cinq petites dynasties Yao-Tsuen 姚存 fit escale au pied de cette roche, au retour d'un

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voyage à la capitale Tchang-ngan. La pierre étant d'un violet rouge on l'appelle encore La Roche violette, Tse-che-yen 紫石巖. Cette particularité a même été la raison pour laquelle on a surnommé Lang-chan la Montagne du corail violet, Tse-lang-chan 紫琅山.

3° Le rocher Fixe ciel, aussi appelé parce qu'il parait se dresser pour regarder le ciel. Sa position est légèrement à l'Est de la roche de la Félicité céleste.

4° Le rocher de l'Encensoir, Hiang-lou-fong 香爐峯. C'est un gros rocher en forme d'encensoir, qui s'élève au sommet septentrional de Lang-chan, à l'Est de la roche de la Félicité céleste.

5° Le pic de la Gourde, Hou-lou-fang 葫蘆峯; à l'Est de la grotte du Soleil, sur l'angle N.E. du mont. Il est taillé en forme de gourde, de là vient son nom.

6° La pierre de la Décision; ainsi nommé parce qu'il faut de la décision et du sang-froid pour s'y aventurer. Elle surplombe la grotte du Nuage et parait comme suspendue dans le vide, sur le front Nord de la montagne. En se risquant sur cette proéminence au-dessus du vertigineux précipice on se sent saisi de frisson.

Le lettré Lou Tse-liu 陸子履, des Song, avait fait une description de ce rocher; les caractères, gravés sur une stèle de pierre étaient déjà en partie effacés au commencement du XVIII^e^ siècle.

7° La pierre de la Demi-cour, ou du Demi-mille; à l'Est de la bibliothèque de la pagode, dans la cour intérieure de la bonzerie. Elle forme une vaste plate-forme de plus de cinquante pieds de diamètre, et dont la moitié seulement apparait dans la cour. On la nomme encore la pierre du Demi-mille, parce que cinq cents personnes pourraient se réunir sur sa surface, n'étant que la moitié en largeur de la fameuse pierre de Hou kieou 虎邱, appelée la pierre du Mille. (Cette pierre se trouve au Nord de Sou-tcheou, sur la montagne de Hou-kieou chan).

8° La pierre Volante; tombée du ciel, soi-disant, à l'Est du temple de Çakyamouni, et derrière la pagode de Che-siang-kong 施相公. Haute et longue de dix pieds et plus, sur six pieds de largeur, elle est comme une agglomérat de petites

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pierres soudées ensemble, et qui ont l'apparence d'écailles. On croit plutôt qu'elle proviendrait d'un éboulement au sommet de la falaise.

9° La Pierre-à-l'encre des Immortels.* A la base N. E. de la montagne, à l'Ouest de la pierre du Lion, s'étend une pierre plate, large de vingt pieds et plus, longue d'une quarantaine de pieds. C'était sur cette pierre, dit la légende, que les Immortels broyaient leur encre. Les caractères qu'on y avait gravés sont en majeure partie effacés.

10° La pierre du Lion. Sise à l'Ouest de la grotte du Soleil levant, sur le socle N. E. de la montagne, haute de plus de trente pieds, elle a l'apparence d'un lion assis et levant la tête. Les trois caractères Che tse che 獅子石, pierre du Lion, sont gravés sur son flanc.

11° La pierre du Tambour; à soixante pas à l'Est de la pagode Ta-che-yuen 大士院, près de l'assise Nord de la montagne. Elle est arrondie comme un tambour; sa circonférence mesure plus de vingt pieds. On y voit gravés les deux caractères 鼓石 kou-che, Pierre du Tambour. Hoang Kia-hien 黃嘉憲 de Koan-tchong 關中, lettré des Ming 明, avait y écrit une pièce de vers, gravée sur pierre, mais devenue illisible.

12° L'esplanade de la Recherche de la Solitude. Située à l'Est de la pierre de la Décision, au sommet Nord de la montagne, elle peut avoir dix pieds de long sur vingt de large. "Sur ces sommets," écrit un poète, "on se sent comme separé du monde, on domine les choses d'ici-bas. Tels ces immortels, que s'élançant des flancs caverneux de la terre voyagent dans les airs, montés sur des grues, ou planent sur les ailes du vent à travers les champs d'azur."

Plusieurs sages sont venus ici chercher la solitude, après avoir renoncé au souci des affaires. La plupart des caractères jadis gravés sur le rocher sont maintenant effacés.

13° L'esplanade de la Belle vue. Elle s'étend devant l'entrée de la pagode supérieure; c'est une plate-forme d'une cinquantaine de pieds de côté, entourée d'une balustrade en

* Notons au préalable que les Chinois se servent d'une pierre plate, sur laquelle ils frottent leur bâton d'encre, pour le délayer avec un peu d'eau.

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pierre et parfaitement pavée. De cette esplanade la vue s'étend au loin sur le grand fleuve et sur les alentours; le coup d'œil est encore ravissant, bienque la mer se soit retirée. Elle se trouve devant la pagode de Wang-ling-koan.

14° L'esplanade Protectrice contre la marée. Ainsi nomme-t-on la plate-forme supérieure d'une forte digue en pierre, élevée devant le temple des Quatre grands Rois du ciel, pour protéger le bas de la montagne contre les ras de marée.

15° L'esplanade de la Réincarnation; sur le versant Nord de la falaise, derrière la pagode de Koan-yng-ta-che. Là, disent les bonzes, le bouddha Koan-yng reprit naissance sous le nom de Seng-kia-ta-cheng 僧伽大聖. C'est, comme on peut en juger, un confirmatur mensonger, inventé dans le but d'accréditer la sotte légende, qu'ils ont intérêt de maintenir bien vivace dans l'imagination des masses. *

II Grottes.

1° La grotte du Nuage. En descendant d'une centaine de pas le versant Nord de Lang-chan, on suit un sentier en lacet, et on arrive à l'entrée de la grotte, qui matin et soir est voilée par un nuage, s'échappant d'une déchirure du rocher.

2° La grotte du Soleil levant; située à l'Est de la pierre du Lion, vers le bas du versant N.E. Elle a une dixaine de pieds de largeur, double est sa hauteur, et sa profondeur est d'une quarantaine de pieds.

La légende rapporte que l'empereur T'sin Che-hoang 秦始皇, épris du désir de contempler le soleil levant, fit jeter un pont sur la mer, pour relier l'îlot de Lang-chan au continent, et vint ensuite dans cette grotte pour assister au petit lever de l'astre du matin. Les esprits et les génies commandèrent aux rochers de descendre dans la mer, et quand ils n'obéissaient pas assez promptement à leurs volontés, ils les cinglaient de si vigoureux coups de fouet que le sang s'échappait des blessures. Sur le flanc Nord de Lang-chan, la roche est encore sillonnée par les cicatrices provenant des coups de fouet. C'est ainsi que la fable est survenue, pour expliquer le travail d'érosion produit par les vagues déferlant contre la paroi de pierre.

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* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. II, pp. 1-5; liv. III, pp. 1-9.

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Les poètes chinois sont intarissables sur ce sujet. Ils décrivent " L'aurore au front de rose, aux pieds d'or, sortant souriante de son céleste palais "; ils saluent " Le roi de gloire, passant les portes de l'orient, monté sur son char étincelant d'or et des rubis, tandis que l'océan, la falaise et ses déchirures boisées vibrent et mirouettent sous le scintillement de ses rayons."

3° La grotte du Nord; à l'Est du pic de la Gourde; elle a vingt pieds de haut, et quarante de large. Propre et spacieuse elle pourrait servir de salle de festin pour mille invités. Elle s'ouvre, vers l'Ouest, près d'une source, et le soleil en achevant de mourir à l'horizon vient l'éclairer de ses derniers feux. Pour cette raison on l'a nommée quelquefois la Grotte du Couchant. *

III. Sources.

1° La source Toujours Limpide. Elle fut découverte par le bonze Tche-hoan, à l'Est du temple de Çakyamouni. On l'appellait encore la source Intarissable. Le tao-che Yen Kou 燕谷, des Song, composa une pièce de vers sur cette fontaine, et grava sur le rocher les trois caractères Heng tsing tsiuen 恒清泉, source toujours limpide.

Plus tard on combla cette fontaine et on exhaussa le terrain pour y bâtir le temple de Che-siang-kong 施相公. Le premier caractère, Heng, apparait encore au-dessus du remblai. Les connaisseurs regrettent qu'on ait ainsi enseveli sous terre cette source célèbre.

2° La source Fraîche et Limpide, à l'Est du temple des Quatre grands Rois, au bas de la montagne. Le bonze Tche-hoan fit creuser cette fontaine. L'eau s'y maintenait toujours à la même hauteur, quelque quantité qu' on en puisât. Plus tard on y creusa un puits, qui fut appelé Hoan-kong tsing 幻公井, Puits du bonze Hoan.

3° La source Ou se mire la Lune. Elle se trouve à l'Est de la grande porte monumentale qui donne accès à la montagne. La lune à son lever venait s'y mirer, ont dit les poètes. Elle n'existe plus qu'en souvenir et dans leurs poésies, depuis elle a été comblée. On montre encore l'emplacement.

* *Annales de cinq Montagnes*, liv. II, pp. 8-14.

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4° La source de la Pure Sagesse. Elle jaillit fraîche et limpide à la base septentrionale de la montagne. Pendant les plus fortes chaleurs elle ne tarit jamais.

5° Les deux viviers du Rachat des êtres vivants. Ils furent creusés à la base de la montagne, l'un à l'Est et l'autre à l'Ouest, par ordre impérial sous l'empereur Song Kao tsong, la 17e année de son règne, c'est-à-dire en 1147. Le texte de cet édit fut gravé sur une stèle, placée sur la montagne du Loup. C'est la plus ancienne dont il soit fait mention dans les *Annales des cinq Montagnes*. Le texte entier se trouve au iiv. XI, pp. 1-2.

6° La pièce d'eau En communication avec le Kiang. Creusée au pied de la montagne à l'Est, au milieu d'un bouquet de verdure, l'eau jaillit du rocher et est inépuisable. On croit que cette fontaine est alimentée par les eaux du Kiang; on a gravé sur le rocher ces deux caractères, Tong Kiang 通江, en communication avec le Kiang.

IV. Ancien aspect de la montagne du Loup.

Jadis le versant méridional de la montagne était du haut en bas planté de beaux sapins. Li Tsou-lai 李祖徠 de Jou-kao 如皋 avait institué la Société des planteurs de sapins. Nous possédons encore quelques unes des pièces de vers composées par six lettrés affiliés à cette association, et Imprimées dans nos Annales, liv. IV, pp. 1-4. Ces vers rappellent l'aménité toute champêtre de cette forêt de sapins dont ils étaient les protecteurs. Sans doute que leur zèle se ralentit, car dans la suite ils disparurent en grande partie. Les notables de Tong-tcheou et la société chargée de l'entretien des pagodes en firent replanter d'autres.

Le bouquet de sapins qui couronne le sommet de l'ancienne falaise est un bien maigre souvenir des temps, où nos lettrés décrivaient dans leurs compositions poétiques les charmes de cette solitude boisée et la montée des Dix mille sapins. C'était le nom donné à un sentier en lacet, serpentant à l'ombre de ces grands arbres et conduisant jusqu'au faîte de la montagne.

Le port de Lang-chan.

L'ancien port de Lang-chan, nommé Lang-chan-kang 狼山港 ou encore Hoang-kang 黃港, le port jaune, se

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trouvait au Sud-Ouest, en avant de la montagne de Terre Jaune. C'était un port très fréquenté, on y voyait des bateaux de tous genres, jonques de mer, gros bateaux du fleuve, navires de commerce, barques de voyageurs, jonques de guerre; ils y étaient à l'abri du vent derrière une jetée. L'administration y avait aussi bâti une douane, chargée de prélever les taxes.*

Les alluvions ont peu à peu comblé ce port. Lang-chan une fois soudé au continent et entouré d'une large bande de terre d'alluvion, a perdu avec son importance militaire toute valeur commerciale.

Article V.—*Fondation du premier monastère bouddhique à Lang-chan.*

A quelle époque remontent les premières fondations sur la montagne du Loup?

Pour répondre à cette question nous commencerons par juxtaposer les textes tirés des *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, puis nous donnerons les correctifs insérés dans le dernier livre intitulé *Chroniques supplémentaires*. Les prémices posées, il ne restera plus guère qu'à tirer les conclusions.

A. La première bonzerie.

La bonzerie de Tse lang chan yuen 紫琅禪院, sise sur le côté Est de la montagne du Loup, fut bâtie la seconde année de Tsong-tchang 總章, c'est-à-dire en l'an 669 ap. J.C., pendant le règne de T'ang Kao-tsong. Les *Annales de Tong-tcheou* et les anciennes chroniques en font foi. Le bonze Tche-hoan 智幻 et un notable du pays nommé Yao Yen-tchang 姚彥章 construisirent la grande salle de la pagode, les temples secondaires, la tour et l'habitation des bonzes. A cette époque Lang-chan était une falaise complétement entourée d'eau; on ne pouvait y accéder qu'en bateau, aussi nomme-t-on la bonzerie Tse-hang-yuen.† Durant la période Ta-pao (958-971, à l'avénement des Song) on donna à la pagode le nom de Koang-kiao-chan se 廣敎禪寺. La raison de ce changement de nom, disent les Annales, c'est que

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* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. III, pp. 12-15.

† Cf. ch. I, Art. I, (*supra*, p. 47) où il est donné une explication de ce nom, désignant à la fois un îlot et la consécration de la pagode sous le vocable de Koan-yng pou-sah (Tse-hang Koan-yng).

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"L'ancien nom lui avait été donné, parce que la montagne était entourée d'eau de tous côtés. Puisqu'elle avait commencé à se souder au continent après la période Yuen-fong 元豐 (1078-86), il convenait de lui donner un autre nom." La 13e année de Kang-hi (1674) l'établissement de la montagne du Loup reçut son nom actuel, Tse lang chan yuen,* bonzerie du Corail violet.

Rappelons nous qu'à la fin du Xe siècle le préfet Yang-Kiun 楊均 avait par superstition changé le nom de la montagne du Loup en celui de montagne du Corail violet. †

Résumé historique des Annales.

1 La premiére pagode appelée Tse-hang-yuen fut bâtie en 669.

2 Elle changea une première fois de nom de 958-971 et s'appela Koang-kiao chan-se.

3 Son nom actuel Tse-hang-chan-yuen date du règne de Kang-hi, 1674.

4 Le bonze Tche-hoan bâtit la première pagode en 66[illegible]

5 Le notable Yao Yen-tchang aida le bonze.

Pour élucider cette question historique il nous reste à répondre aux trois points suivants:

1, Le bonze Tche-hoan fut-il le fondateur de la pagode Tse-hang-yuen en 669?

2, Le notable Yao l'aida-t-il pour cette construction de 669?

3, La première pagode Tse-hang-yuen fut-elle bâtie en 669?

A la première question nous répondons catégoriquement, Non. La raison est péremptoire: c'est qu'il ne vécut que trois siècles après. Nous tirerons tous nos arguments du texte même des Annales.

1° Les mêmes Annales qui le donnent comme fondateur sous T'ang Kao-tsong en 669 renferment sa notice biographique au livre X; pp. 11 et 12. Ces notes historiques, disent elles, sont tirées des vieilles *Annales de Tong-tcheou.*

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* Nom actuel,— c'est-à-dire à l'époque de l'impression des Annales au XVIIIe siècle.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. V, pp, 1-3; I, p. 1. *V. supra*, p 44.

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Or, il est dit clairement que le bonze était un docteur de la dynastie des Song (donc après 960, époque de l'avénement de cette dynastie).

2° En outre, les bonzes, dans une assemblée élurent Tche-hoan comme supérieur de la bonzerie Koang-kiao-chan-se pendant la période Tai-ping-hing-kouo (976-981); c'était donc plus de trois cents ans aprés la première fondation fixée en 669.

3° Nous savons déjà que la bonzerie n'avait reçu le nom de Koang-kiao-chan-se que sous la période Ta-pao 958-971. Puisqu'elle portait déjà ce nom à l'époque où Tche-hoan fut nommè supérieur, c'est donc une preuve de plus que cette nomination, ne peut, en aucune façon, avoir été antérieure à la seconde moitié du X^me^ siecle.

4° Le bonze Tche-hoan pour en imposer, et pour se donner des tîtres à la vénération publique, se donnait comme une réincarnation du bonze Seng-kia-ta-cheng; or, Seng-kia ne mourut qu'en 710. Tche-hoan ne peut donc pas être né avant la mort de celui qui devait se réincarner dans sa personne.

Donc tous les détails de la vie de Tche-hoan, et même les légendes qui circulent sur son compte, prouvent à l'évidence qu'il n'existait pas en 669, et par conséquent qu'il n'a pu être le fondateur de la pagode Tse-hang-yuen à cette époque.* Les bonzes de Lang-chan le donnent comme premier fondateur, probablement parce qu'il passe, à tort au à raison, pour avoir reçu le grade du docteur, et qu'ils ont comme tactique de faire remonter la fondation de leurs bonzeries à un personnage célèbre ou à un thaumaturge; c'est un moyen d'attirer les foules et de battre monnaie.

A cette difficulté de date ils répondent sans sourciller que Tche-hoan était un saint bouddhiste, qui vécut plus de 300 ans, et la question est resolue!

Seule l'hypothèse de deux bonzes ayant porté le nom de Tche-hoan pourrait concilier ces difficultés historiques, mais aucun document trouvé jusqu'ici n'est de nature à éveiller même le plus petit doute.

* Les *Annales supplémentaires*, liv. xx, p 3, admettent la thèse que nous defendons.

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Il parait donc historiquement certain qu'il ne doit point être considéré comme le premier supérieur, puisque le bonze Louo-ngan Hoei-wen l'avait précéde dans cette charge deux siècles auparavant, si nous en croyons les Annales (Liv. x, p. 12, et liv. xx, p. 5).

Seconde question; le notable Yao Yen-tchang l'aida-t-il pour cette construction de 669? D'abord, il n'aida bien certainement pas Tche-hoan en 669, puisque ce bonze n'était pas né; mais outre cette réponse générale on peut se demander si du moins, Yao vécut à cette époque.

Là encore nous devons répondre négativement. Au livre xx, p. 3 des Annales nous lisons, "Yao Yen-tchang, d'après les Chroniques de Tong-tcheou, est le même que Yen-hong 彥洪,* neveu de Yao Ting-koei 姚廷珪, et c'est lui qui eut grandement à souffrir sous le roi Tsien 錢 nommé Lieou 鏐." † Or, Lieou devint roi de Tsien en 851 et se maintint sur le trône jusqu'en 932; ce fut donc de 851 à 932 que Yao Yen-tchang fut molesté par cet aventurier parvenu au pouvoir royal. Cette date prouve que Yao Yan-tchang a pu être contemporain du bonze Tche-hoan; mais par ailleurs, elle démontre péremptoirement l'impossibilité de la coopération pour bâtir la pagode en 669. Ici encore il y a un anachronisme de plusieurs siécles.

La troisième question est: La première pagode Tse-hang-yuen a-t-elle été bâtie en 669? Rien ne s'y oppose, pourvu qu'on nous accorde que Tche-hoan at Yao Yen-tchang n'y eurent aucune part.

Il ne reste plus aucun monument, aucune stèle, datant de cette époque; nous sommes réduits à nous en tenir au témoignage des *Annales de Tong-tcheou*, anciennes et nouvelles, et à celui des *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, qui toutes affirment que cette pagode fut construite en 669. Les *Annales supplémentaires* au livre xx tout en repoussant comme une fausseté historique l'ingérence du bonze Tche-hoan et du notable Yao, dans une œuvre bien antérieure à leur naissance, garde un

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* C'est-à-dire qu'il avait deux noms, Yen-tchang 彥章, et Yen-hong 彥洪.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. xx., p. 3.

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silence absolu sur le fait en lui-même. Elles ne disent ni oui ni non; elles n'ont à apporter aucune preuve contre, et à donner aucun document pour. Nous sommes dans le même cas, èt nous donnons cette date de 669 comme l'époque probable de la première fondation, sous bénéfice d'inventaire, cependant, et sur la seule foi au témoignage des Annales. Nous sommes en droit, cependant, de conclure qu'il existait péjà une pagode à Lang-chan vers 760, car Louo-ngan Hoei-wen de retour au Fou-kien, sur le déclin de l'âge, vint à Lang-chan vers cette époque, et y mourut comme supérieur de la bonzerie; ce qui suppose qu'elle existait déjà depuis un certain temps, et c'est une nouvelle preuve de probabilité pour l'opinion qui place la fondation de cette bonzerie en 669.

B. La tour de Lang-chan.

I *Date de sa construction.* La tour carrée à cinq étages, bâtie sur la crête la plus élevée de la montagne du Loup, devant la grande pagode de Seng-kai-ta-cheng, fut appelée de deux noms différents. A l'origine on la nomma Tche-yun-ta 支雲塔 Tour Etai des nuages, puis quand le culte de Ta-cheng fut introduit à Lang-chan on changea aussi le nom de la tour qui s'appela alors Tour de Ta-cheng 大聖 ta-cheng ta. Cette distinction bien établie, il ne reste plus de difficulté insoluble dans tous les passages du texte des Annales qui traite de ce sujet.

Au livre vii, p. 10 il est dit, "La tour Etai des nuages est sise sur le plus haut sommet de la montagne du Loup, devant le hall de Ta-cheng. D'après les anciennes Annales sa construction remonte à la seconde année de Tsong-tchang 總章 des Tang, 669 ap. J. C. C'est une tour à cinq étages; son faite domine les nuages."

Les *Annales supplementaires*, liv. xx, p. 3, semblent à première vue combattre cette opinion; voici comment elles s'expriment: "Les vieilles Annales de Tong-tcheou mentionnent l'érection de la tour de Ta-cheng à Lang-chan pendant la période Tsong-tchang, 668-70. Mais la biographie de Ta-cheng nous apprend que ce bonze arriva en Chine pendant l'époque Long-cho (661-664), qu'il habita la pagode Long-hing-se 龍興寺 à Tchou-tcheou 楚州, durant la période Tong-tien 通天 (696-7), et qu'il contruisit sa tour dans le

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Se-tcheou 泗州 à l'époque King-long (707-710), plusieurs dizaines d'années après la période Tsong-tchang. Comment auraiton pu lui construire une tour à Lang-chan avant sa mort? N'est-ce pas une erreur d'avancer que la tour de Ta-cheng fut édifiée pendant la période Tsong-tchang? On est donc obligé d'avouer que la construction en question n'était point la tour de Ta-cheng, et que ce ne fut point le bonze Tche-hoan qui la bâtit."

C'est, me semble-t-il, le cas d'appliquer la distinction ci-dessus énoncée. La construction de l'époque Tsong-tchang n'était point la tour de Ta-cheng, mais c'était la tour Etai des nuages qui plus tard fut appelée Tour de Ta-cheng, après l'intronisation de ce bonze sur le mont du Loup. Jusqu'à preuve du contraire nous préférons nous en tenir au témoignage constant de toutes les vieilles Annales, qui font remonter la première bonzerie et sa tour à l'an 669. En tout cas elle date au moins de la fin du X^me^ siècle, comme nous allons le voir.

II *La tour de Ta-cheng et la légende.* La branche de saule, la fiole d'eau lustrale, et la tour: voilà comme les trois attributs inséparables de Ta-cheng. Plusieurs légendes circulent au sujet de cette tour. Déjà nous en avons conté une dans les *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. vii, p. 266.

Ta-cheng partit un jour de Si-ki 西岐, bourg du Tong-tai-hien 東臺縣, au Kiang-sou, avec l'intention de se rendre à Lang-chan. Sur ses épaules il emporta deux sections d'une étuve, dont se servent les Chinois pour cuire les pains à la vapeur. Arrivé près du pont jeté sur le canal en face de Li-fa-kiao 力發橋, bourg de Jou-kao 如皋, il s'informa si le pont était solide. Tout le monde de sourire, on lui répondit que le pont avait fait ses preuves, qu'il était d'une solidité parfaite. Le bonze s'y engage, mais, arrivé au milieu, le pont chancelle et menace de s'écrouler. A ce moment Koan-yng parut au-dessus des eaux et soutint de la main l'arche principale, qui s'écroula de suite après le passage du bonze. Dans les jours qui suivirent, les habitants de Si-ki ne furent pas peu surpris en constatant la disparition de deux étages de leur tour de pagode. Seng-kia les avait emportées

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sur son épaule en partant pour Lang-chan. Pour cacher son larcin il les avait métamorphosées sous la forme de deux sections d'étuve, mais le pont avait fléchi sous un poids si lourd, et sans l'aide de Koan-yng, dont le bonze était l'avatar, il se serait écroulé sur ses bases avant le passage effectué. Ces deux étages, ajoute la légende, lui servirent pour la construction de la tour de Lang-chan.

Une seconde légende est racontée dans les Annales, liv. xx, p. 4. Vers la fin de la période Siuen-houo 宣和 (1119-26) un riche commerçant donna trente mille taëls pour restaurer et orner la tour de Ta-cheng à Se-tcheou; cette tour s'appelait le Phare du Monde.

Or, quelques années après, à l'époque Kien-yen (1127-29), ce marchand rentra au Hou-nan. Arrivé en face de Tche-tcheou, au milieu du fleuve parut une tour à treize étages, flottant sur l'eau, et se rapprochant du bateau. Les bateliers en le voyant furent effrayées et comme d'instinct invoquèrent Bouddha. La tour rapprochait toujours de leur bord; soudain un bonze sortit du pied de la tour, étendit la main en disant: "Voilà celui qui a libéralement bâtie cette tour. Maintenant le pays de Hoai-nan 淮南 passe par une crise terrible, je transporte ma tour vers la mer de l'Est." A peine ces mots furent-ils achevés, qu'un fort coup de vent emporta la tour, qui volait comme une flèche. Presqu'aussitôt après, on apprit que la tour de Se-tcheou avait été détruite par un incendie.

"Ridicule légende," ajoute le chroniqueur, "puisque depuis la période Tai-ping-hing-kouo (976-81) la tour de Lang-chan était debout et Ta-cheng y recevait les honneurs du culte. Il est donc évident que cette vision du marchand hounanais ne fut point le transfert de la tour de Se-tcheou à Lang-chan par le bonze Ta-cheng. Par ailleurs, Tong-tcheou et Lang-chan à cette époque dépendaient aussi du Hoai-nan."

Tout en traitant de fable la légende ci-dessus, notre auteur nous découvre sa pensée sur un point important, c'est que d'après lui, Ta-cheng était déjà honoré à Lang-chan an moment où le bonze Tche-hoan fut nommé supérieur de la

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bonzerie, période Tai-ping-hing-kouo, et que ce fut à cette époque que fut construite la tour Etai des nuages, dédiée depuis à Ta-cheng.*

Etait-ce une construction complète ou plutôt la restauration d'une tour, déjà existante, dut-on même démolir l'ancienne tour pour en élever une nouvelle sur un autre plan? Ce sont là des questions auxquelles il est difficile de répondre avec précision. Toujours est il qu'il reste ce point bien acquis, que tous les chroniqueurs, même ceux que paraissent révoquer en doute que la tour Etai des nuages fut bâtie en 669, concédent qu'elle date, au moins, de l'époque Tai-ping-hing-kouo.

III. Ruines et restaurations.

L'Etai des nuages, perché tout au sommet de la haute falaise, dut affronter toute la fureur des typhons, et paya cher quelquefois l'orgueil de sa prééminence et les poémes lyriques composés à sa louange par les célèbres lettrés Tchang Tche-mong 張志孟, Cheng Ming-tcheng 沈明臣, Ling Yun-tcheng 林雲程, Tchang Yuen-fang 張元方, etc. Dans leurs vers ils ont essayé de peindre le magnifique panorama qui se déroulait jadis aux yeux du spectateur placé au sommet de la tour. D'un côté le cours majestueux du Fleuve Bleu, un vrai bras de mer, sillonné par les bateaux de tout tonnage; de l'autre, les flots tumultueux de la grande mer, qui venaient battre les flancs déchiquetés de ces hauts rochers. "Là," disent-ils, "on se sent plus voisin des étoiles, on domine ces petites régions tumultueuses où l'espèce humaine, comme une fourmilière, se démène et s'agitte." A vrai dire, hélas! c'est l'orgueilleux Satan, qui, perché sur son trône et du haut de ce rocher, tient depuis dix siècles sous son joug tyrannique ces malheureuses populations païennes.

La tour de Lang-chan est massive, d'une robuste carrure, on semble avoir sacrifié l'élégance à la solidité. On dirait une machine de guerre, destinée à résister au choc de la tempête, plutôt qu'une œuvre d'architecture élevée pour flatter l'œil par la délicatesse de ses formes. Voici les principaux sinistres relevés dans les Annales pendant les quatre derniers

* Rappelons nous que ces *Annales supplémentaires* sont les seules à douter de la construction de cette tour en 669.

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siècles. En 1480 la tour fut brûlée avec les pagodes voisines et la maison des bonzes. En 1482 elle fut restaurée par le bonze Té-tsing 德清. En 1569, pendant la VII[e] lune, un typhon renversa la tour et la pagode des Quatre grands rois. En 1574, le 14 de la VII[e] lune, un cyclone s'abattit sur la contrée, souleva les vagues à une telle hauteur que la base de la montagne fut submergée. Dans les campagnes avoisinantes le nombre des victimes fut incalculable. La tour fut détruite, tous les toits des pagodes furent emportés. En 1588, le 26 de la VI[e] lune, un orage terrible éclata pendant la nuit, la foudre incendia la tour. En 1614 un tremblement de terre fit tomber un des angles de la tour. En 1627, le 21 de la lune, un coup de foudre détacha l'angle N. E. de la maçonnerie. Le 17 de la VIII[e] lune de cette même année, la foudre renversa l'angle S. O. sur toute la hauteur des cinq étages. En 1716 la foudre causa de graves dégats à la charpente et les pierres subirent de grosses avaries. En 1741 l'Etai des nuages fut derechef frappé par la foudre.

Article VI.—*Les principaux temples de Lang-chan.*

A. Les pagodes de Koan-yng.

1° Kou-tse-hang-yuen 古慈航院, L'ancienne pagode de l'îlot de la Miséricordieuse. Ce fut la première construction de Lang-chan, sur le socle de la montagne à l'Est. Derrière on bâtit ensuite la grande pagode de Koan-ti, dieu de la guerre. La montagne du Loup était alors une île, circonstance merveilleusement propice pour y inaugurer le culte de Koan-yng, qu'on aime tant à représenter dans son îlot de Hiang-chan 香山 ou abordant à son rocher sur une feuille de lotus. *

Les Annales ne nous disent point si Koan-yng y fut honoré dans les premiers temps sous forme masculine ou sous la figure d'une femme. S'il est vrai que cette construction remonte à 669, l'artiste Ou Tao-tse 吳道子, qui vécut sous Tang Hiuen-tsong 唐玄宗 (713-56), n'avait point encore

* *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VI, p. 149, fig. 37.

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dessiné sa Koan-yng féminine, qui est à bon droit considérée comme un des premiers types du genre, sinon le premier, suivant le témoignage d'auteurs sérieux.*

Avant le règne de Hiuen-tsong nous ne trouvons aucune trace de Koan-yng féminine; il n'est donc pas invraisemblable de croire que sa statue, placée dans la première pagode de Lang-chan, fut un Koan-yng masculin. La biographie de Seng-kia, qui mourut en 710, n'est point faite pour nous dissuader qu'à cette époque Koan-yng était généralement considéré comme un homme et non comme une femme, car ce bonze, pour se donner du crédit auprès des populations, se posait comme une réincarnation de Koan-yng. Or il eût paru pour le moins extraordinaire, même aux yeux des moins clairvoyants, qu'un pou-sah féminin se réincarnât sous la forme d'un bonze; la forme masculine mettait certainement plus d'atouts dans son jeu, pour le succès de la partie.

Inutile de dire que son audacieuse prétention obtint la résultat le plus inespéré, puisque depuis au moins neuf cents ans il siège en maître sur les hauteurs de Lang-chan, le front ceint de la glorieuse auréole d'un Koan-yng réincarné. Les bonzes eux-mêmes semblent avoir été de cet avis, et au sommet de la tour dédiée à Ta-cheng on voit encore un Koan-yng masculin.

2° Koan-yng-ta-che yuen 觀音大士院 est bâtie sur les assises septentrionales du rocher, au bas de l'escarpement de la Lune de la mer, nommé aussi le rocher de Koan-yng, parce qu'une légende rapporte que ce fut au-dessous de ce rocher qu'aborda une statue de Koan-yng en pierre, flottant miraculeusement au-dessus des eaux, et plus tard réputée pour de nombreux prodiges. Invention mensongère, dont les bonzes sont coutumiers, pour exciter l'admiration des foules et en recueillir les fruits en espèces sonnantes.

3° Ta pei tien 大悲殿; le hall de la très compatissante; dedié à Koan-yng et bâti à l'Est de la pagode de Çakyamouni. On le nomme encore, le Pavillon de la très compatissante.

* *Recnerches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VI, p. 142 (Ou Tao-tse et sa célèbre Koan-yng féminine de Tchou-tcheou).

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Cette pagode disparut dans un incendie sous le règne de Yong-tcheng (1723-35). Ce nom semble indiquer que le culte d'une Koan-yng féminine est définitivement introduit sur la montagne du Loup. Malheureusement les Annales ne mentionnent point l'époque de la construction. Elle vient seulement, dans l'énumération des pagodes, après le temple élevé à l'esprit du Kiang et de la mer, au XVI[e] siècle. A cette époque le culte de Koan-yng sous figure de femme, était déjà presque universellement répandu.

4° Wang-hai Koan-yng-se 望海觀音祠, pagode de Koan-yng donnant vue sur la mer, bâtie sur le flanc oriental, audessus de la paroi taillée à pic par le frottement des vagues. Là se trouvait jadis le pavillon 'donnant vue sur la mer,' on y plaça une statue de Koan-yng 'aux habits blancs;'* le pavillon prit alors le nom de Wang-hai Koan-yng se.

Mr. Tchang Kien, académicien du Kiang-sou, promoteur des bonnes œuvres païennes et comme trait d'union entre la civilisation contemporaine et les idées antiques, a fait élever à cette place même, un kiosque d'architecture européenne, dans lequel il a placé une statue colossale de la Koan-yng 'aux habits blancs.'

5° Pé-i Koan-yng ngan 白衣觀音菴. La rotonde de Koan-yng 'a l'habit blanc' avait été élevée à l'Ouest de la bibliothèque de la bonzerie.

B. La pagode de Çakyamouni, Che-kia-tien 釋迦殿.

Cette pagode fut construite sous le règne de Tang Kao-tsong 唐高宗 pendant la période Tsong-tchang 總章 (668-70), c'est-à-dire en même temps que la pagode dédiée à Koan-yng. Du reste, même dans ce temple, nous verrons qu'elle occupe une grande place.

La pagode fut dévorée par un incendie durant la période Tcheng-hoa 成化, et rebâtie l'an 1482, de la même période. Deux autres restaurations de cet édifice sont spécialement notifiées dans les Annales, celle de 1602 et celle de 1742. De nos jours il est en parfait état de conservation, c'est la salle la plus monumentale de Lang-chan.

Le hall de Çakyamouni se trouve au bas de la montagne, un peu au S. O. Après avoir franchi la grand porte d'entrée

* *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VI, p. 145.

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et la salle de Quatre grands rois, on se trouve en face de la salle monumentale dite de Çakyamouni, vulgairement connue sous le nom de Ta-Fou-tien 大佛殿, Grand hall de Bouddha.

L'autel est double. Sur la face antérieure siègent les trois membres de la Triade bouddhique. Çakyamouni occupe le trône central, à ses côtés siègent les deux autres membres de la Triade, Wen-tchou 文殊 Manjusri, et Pou-hien 普賢 Samantabhadra. Les dix-huit Louo-han (bonzes thaumaturges) font la haie des deux côtés de la salle. Le général Wei-touo 韋馱, protecteur armé du bouddhisme, et Touo-ta Li t'ien-wang 托塔李天王, Li porte-tour, autrement dit Li-tsing 李靖, d'origine taoïste,* se tiennent debout de chaque côté de l'autel un peu en avant. Ce sont comme les officiers de la maison militaire de Bouddha.

Le revers de l'autel est une représentation du rocher de Pou-touo 普陀, dédié à Koan-yng. Autour d'elle se pressent une légion de génies et de bouddhas, qui du fond de leurs grottes ou du haut des airs forment sa cour et lui présentent leurs devoirs.

C. Le temple de Ta-cheng, 大聖 Ta-cheng-tien 大聖殿.

Le hall du Grand saint est situé sur le faite de la montagne du Loup, derrière la tour Etai des nuages.

Dans la biographie de ce bonze nous avons déjà expliqué clairement les raisons pour lesquelles son culte fut introduite à Lang-chan. L'îlot étant spécialement consacré à Koan-yng, et Seng-kia-ta-cheng étant une réincarnation de ce pou-sah, on trouva tout naturel de l'introniser sur son domaine. A proprement parler, le but du pélerinage resta toujours le même, on y honora toujours le même personnage, mais dans deux de ses existences successives, et sous deux noms divers.

Seng-kia vint-il en personne à Lang-chan, au cours de ses voyages dans les diverses provinces de Chine ?

Le plus anciennes notices du Chen-sien-tong-kien et du Cheou-chen-ki 搜神記 consignées dans les *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VII, p. 263-67, n'en font aucune mention. Après tout, ce n'est pas une raison suffisante pour

* *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. IX, p. 569.

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le nier, car tout n'est pas raconté dans ces biographies, et pendant son séjour de 53 ans en Chine il put passer par la bonzerie de Lang-chan. Toutefois nous n'avons pour indication que les légendes locales, transmises et enjolivées de génération en génération. Par exemple, les deux que nous avons racontées dans l'Article précédent, sur le transfert de la tour.

Une troisième légende est signalée dans les Annales, liv. 1, p. 1; elle se rapporte à l'origine même du nom donné à la montagne. Un loup blanc se cachait dans les fourrés sur les pentes abruptes de l'îlot; le bonze Seng-kia dompta cette bête féroce et la chassa de son repaire. En souvenir du prodige on donna à la montagne le noms de montagne du Loup, et même de montagne du Loup blanc 白狼山 Pé-lang-chan. Cette dernière dénomination est fréquemment employée dans les anciens titres officiels donnés aux officiers militaires chargés de la défense de cette position.

Quand même il serait prouvé plus tard que le bonze ne vint jamais à Lang-chan, ce qui ne me parait pas improbable, la vogue toujours grandissante de son culte s'explique à merveille, puisqu'en sa personne les populations superstitieuses croient honorer un avatar de Koan-yng, le pou-sah de la Miséricorde. Du reste, les honneurs dont il avait été comblé à la cour, son titre d'honneur de Maître du royaume, ses funérailles solennelles aux frais de l'Etat l'érection d'un stupa sur son tombeau à Ling-hoai-hien, en avaient fait un personnage célèbre.

A quelle époque fut construit le temple de Ta-cheng à Lang-chan?

Le seul document écrit que nous connaissions est le récit des *Annales supplémentaires*, liv. xx, p. 4, où il est dit que le culte de Ta-cheng commença à progresser à Lang-chan pendant la période Tai-ping-hing-kouo (976-81) sous l'administration du bonze Tche-hoan. Ce bonze s'étant posé en avatar de Ta-cheng, travaillait peut-être aussi pour son propre intérêt, espérant bien qu'en poussant au sommet des honneurs celui qui s'était réincarné en lui, il en recue illerait sûrement de la gloire. Il raisonnait juste, car dans la suite on lui bâtit une pagode, et il y fut honoré.

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Sous la dynastie des Song 宋 et sous celle des Yüen 元 le temple de Ta-cheng existait sûrement. Les Annales racontent qu'en 1482 le notable Wang Kang et le bonze Te-tsing 德清 relevèrent les ruines de cet édifice, qui venait d'être détruit par un incendie. De nouveau il fut restauré par Ma Kiong-tchang et remis dans son premier état de splendeur, "comme au temps de la dynastie des Song et de celles des Yüen." Ces dernières lignes, inserées aussi dans l'inscription gravée sur une stèle, prouvent que le temple existait sous ces mêmes dynasties.

De nouvelles restaurations sont encore mentionées aux années 1636 et 1654, puis une dernière fois sous Kang-hi en 1711.

Dans la pagode actuel, un escalier de pierre d'une trentaine de marches et d'une largeur de vingt-cinq pieds, donne accès au temple de Seng-kia, je serais plutôt tenté de dire au 'repaire,' car cette salle est une vraie bouche d'enfer, où l'air est empesté de l'odeur nauséabonde de l'encens chinois, et de la senteur fade de l'huile en combustion. Une lumière fumeuse s'échappe des bougies de graisse, plantées sur des chandeliers crasseux, et déchire de lueurs lugubres la demi-obscurité qui règne autour de l'autel où trône l'idole.

Elle est revêtue d'un manteau jaune sale, agrafé sur l'épaule gauche à la mode des bonzes, et assise au fond d'une niche obscure, le front ceint d'une couronne d'or. Voilà le tyran, devant lequel vingt à trente mille paysans et des centaines dė fiers lettrés se posant volontiers en libres penseurs, viennent chaque année se prosterner, la terreur dans l'âme, et battant du front le pavé de son bouge infect.

D. Temple de l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer 江海神廟
L'esprit du Kiang et de la mer, qui a le pouvoir de soulever les vagues, est Yang-heou 陽侯, mais on donne plus communément cette mission à Ou-tse-siu 吳子胥, ministre de Fou-tchai 夫差, roi de Ou 吳, qui fit coudre son corps dans une outre de peau, qu'on jeta dans le Yang-tse-kiang. Pour se venger il soulève les flots du fleuve.*

Le temple en honneur de cette divinité fut construit en 1514 par décret impérial et en action de grâces, soi-disant, de la victoire remportée sur Lieou-tsi 劉七 et sa flotte, en 1512.

* *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. X, p. 788.

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Pendant la nuit du 18 de la VIIe lune, une tempête se déchaina, les bateaux de la flotille furent en partie brisés ou submergés, le parti ennemi fut anéanti.*

Il est probable que déjà avant 1514 il existait à Lang-chan une pagode provisoire de l'Esprit du Kiang et des mers, car dès l'année qui suivit cette victoire, au jour anniversaire, le préfet de Tong-tcheou s'y rendit pour lui offrir un sacrifice. Il s'agit dans le décret de 1514 de la grande pagode, encore aujourd'hui existante, qui se trouve devant la tour Etai des nuages. Brûlée en 1559, elle fut reconstruite deux ans après par le mandarin militaire Fou Hi-ki 傅希摯. †

Le préfet de Tong-tcheou se rendait la veille à Lang-chan et offrait le sacrifice d'action de grâces le 19 de la VIIe lune, au matin, dès l'aurore. Voici le menu de ce repas sacrifical. Un cerf, une chèvre, un lapin, deux poissons, des fruits, du vin, deux plats de légumes, des pains, du vermicelle et du riz. On ajoutait une pièce de soie en présent.

En 1516, sans doute pour la dédicace de la nouvelle pagode, cette cérémonie sacrificale fut accomplie avec une pompe extraordinaire, en présence de toutes les sommités de la province. ‡

Ce temple renfermait les deux statues du bouddha, Si-fang-tsie-in 西方接引 (un des noms d'Amitha), et de l'Esprit de la mer et du Kiang. Sur les petits autels latéraux étaient honorés Eul-lang 二郎 et Yen-koang pou-sah 眼光菩薩 Eul-lang était le fils de Li-ping 李冰, préfet au Se-tchoan, trois siècles avant J. C. On le représente accompagné du "chien céleste," et il est communément connu sous le nom de Yang-t'sien 楊戩. §

Yen-koang pou-sah est la déesse de la 'lumière oculaire', et une des acolytes de Pi-kia-yuen-kiun. On la représente tenant un œil sur un plateau. ‖

Une légende merveilleuse est insérée ici dans les Annales. Lors de la restauration de ce temple en 1615, on ne trouvait

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* Voir Article 7, Faits de guerre.
† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. V, p. 7.
‡ *Ibid.*, liv. VIII, p. 1.
§ *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. IX, pp 587-93.
‖ *Ibid.*, tom. X, pp. 737-41.

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point de matériaux convenables pour sculpter la statue de l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer. Bientôt on vit une grosse pièce de bois flotter sur les eaux du fleuve, et aborder au bas de la montagne. C'était un bois très fin, dont on se servit pour l'ouvrage projecté.

Les Annales supplémentaires, liv. xx, pp. 7-8, nous donnent d'intéressants détails qui dévoilent les dessous de cartes de la fondation de cette fameuse pagode, et nous font voir que la piété et la reconnaissance n'y furent pour rien. Le Ministre de la guerre, nommé Tchang King 張綆, chargé de défendre l'embouchure de la Hoai, Hoai-keou 淮口, prétendait bien avoir sa bonne part de gloire pour la victoire de Lang-chan; de plus, le délégué impérial Lou Wan 陸完 étant son subordonné, il séchait de jalousie en pensant que son inférieur récolterait tous les honneurs du triomphe. Il ne put même retenir sa langue, et s'en ouvrit sans détour auprès de quelques amis. Ces propos furent rapportés à Lou Wan, qui dans son rapport ne souffla pas mot des prétendus mérites de Tchang King. Ce dernier, pour se venger, présenta un mémorial à l'empereur, l'informant avec respect que la victoire de Lang-chan était due *uniquement* à la protection de l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer, qui avait soulevé les vagues au moment opportun, et que les troupes de Lou Wan n'y étaitent pour *rien*. En conséquence il pria l'empereur de faire élever à Lang-chan un temple commémoratif de ce prodige, et d'ordonner que des sacrifices fûssent offerts à cet esprit en action de grâces du prodige opéré. Ainsi fut fait, bientôt parut l'édit impérial autorisant cette construction. Son rival Lou Wan sut aussi, à sa façon, se venger des paroles désobligeantes de Tchang King. Dès 1513, une stèle commémorative de la victoire fut érigée sur la montagne du Loup, l'inscription lapidaire fut composée par le lettré Wang cheou-k'i 王守溪, compatriote et ami de Lou Wan; or, dans le récit de toute cette campagne il n'y a qu'un mot plutôt railleur à l'adresse de Tchang King.* Le jour de l'érection de la pierre on la

* La traduction de cette stèle se trouve, Article 7.

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trouva brisée en deux morceaux; malgré tout elle fut scellée dans la maçonnerie, et on voit encore la fissure.*

Donc le temple de l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer doit son origine à la rivalité jalouse des deux généraux Lou Wan et Tchang King. Le premier était assistant du Ministère de la guerre, et député par l'empereur pour réprimer la rebellion. Le second était Ministre de la guerre, avec le haut commandement des troupes échelonnées à l'embouchure du fleuve Hoai dans la mer de Chine.

[*La suite au prochain numéro*].

* A n'en point douter c'était Tchang King qui avait trouvé moyen de la faire briser, espérant qu'elle ne serait pas érigée. Les Annales laissent au lecteur le plaisir de le deviner.

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GREGORY LOPEZ, BISHOP

BY

THE REV. A. C. MOULE

THE consecration on 2nd October, 1918, of the Venerable Archdeacon 沈再生 Shên Tsai-shêng to be assistant Bishop in Chekiang suggests that it may be of interest to print some account of his only known predecessor in the native Chinese episcopate.

There were, it is true, many Nestorian Bishops in China in the thirteenth century, but there is no evidence, I believe, that any of them were Chinese. One man, indeed, born in China, was not only a Bishop but for many years Patriarch of the Nestorians; but he was Uigur rather than Chinese by race.

The following history of Gregory Lopez, Bishop of Basilea in Africa and Vicar Apostolic of Nanking, is translated from the notice in Quétif and Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, tom. II, 1721, pp. 708, 709, under the year 1686.

"Brother Gregory Lopez, a native of China, born in the city of Fogan [福安 Fu-an in north-east Fukien], embraced the Christian faith when he was grown up. He had been taught and baptized by Brother Antonio a S. Maria, a well-known missionary of the Order of Minors, and was so greatly attracted by his teaching and goodness that he left his family

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and home and joined himself to the Franciscans, who were labouring in the word of God in that district. When the same missionaries travelled to Peking he went with them, and was no small help to them in preaching the Gospel, busily waiting on them and acting as catechist under their orders. There too he learnt from the first to suffer for Christ, for he was arrested with the missionaries and driven into exile. But this only made his courage greater and his faith more bright, and he joined the same company again and went with them to the city of Macao. And while on the voyage with them he was very nearly strangled for Christ's sake in Cochin-China, where they had been driven by a storm; but he escaped, God having a better fate in store for him, and came at last to Manila. There God moved him to do what no Chinese had so far attempted and to resolve to adopt the Religious and Regular life; and, that he might be fit to do so, he obtained leave to be admitted to our College of S. Thomas at Manila. He tried to learn Spanish and Latin, beginning at the very beginning, and came to know the former moderately well and a little of the latter; and for some years he attended lectures on philosophy. Since, however, he was diligent among them, and the Prior of our Province of the Philippines needed a man of first-rate trustiness to carry a sum of money which had been subscribed to our missionaries living in China, he, as one whom all held to be of approved faith and goodness, was chosen for the duty, and carried it out with diligence and the utmost faithfulness. He was kept in China by Brother John Garcia, a well-known missionary of our Order, and gave him much help in the ministry of the word, by teaching catechumens and neophytes, acting as his messenger, and collecting alms from his fellow-countrymen. And especially he worked immensely hard at the building of our Church at Ting Teu [perhaps 汀州 Ting chou], carrying very heavy loads of timber, stone, lime and sand, and arranging everything; a very Jack-of-all-trades, bricklayer, mason, carpenter, and even architect.

"He had already reached, if he had not passed, his thirtieth year, when at last he received from the Fathers in China what he had long sought and seemed to have earned

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by his most fervent loyalty. Having, that is to say, been presented by them with the habit of the Order, he went again to Manila to complete his novitiate. And when that was done, and he had studied theology for some time, and had been admitted, first of Chinese natives, to the priesthood, he was sent back by the Superiors to his own country in the year 1654 to be, as they thought, a great help to our preachers in that field. Not only did he not belie the hopes which had been formed of him, but even surpassed them, for it cannot be believed with what zeal he preached the Gospel for thirty years or more in different parts of that huge empire, how many thousands of heathen he brought to Christ, with what charity above all, when persecution arose in the year 1664 and he alone, being a native, was left at liberty when the other missionaries of every Order were put in prison, he visited their Christianities (as they call them) as well as his own, strengthened the faith of the wavering, brought back the apostates to the right way, and converted the unbelieving. The story of his zeal reached the foreign realms of Tonkin and Siam, and moved the French Bishops who were working there to write to the Pope that it would be of very great benefit to the Church if he, as being Chinese and for that reason sure to be more acceptable to his fellow-countrymen, were raised to the episcopate. And when their account of him was confirmed by the evidence of Dominic Fernandez Navarrete of our Order, who was then at Rome, Clement X appointed him Bishop of Basilea and Vicar Apostolic in Nanking over five provinces of China and the kingdom of Corea on the 4th of January 1674*. But since he was not one who thought highly of himself, or stretched himself

* It is curious to notice that Navarrete, who must have been writing his *History of China* in 1674, cannot have heard of Lopez' refusal of the bishopric before his book was published in 1676, since we read there "I was told the same by my Lord the Brother Gregory Lopez, Bishop of Basilea, who is now in charge of the Church in China, a member of our Order, and a native of that Empire." (Lo mesmo me afirmò el señor Don Fray Gregorio Lopez, Obispo Basilitano, a cuyo cargo està oy la Iglesia de China, Religioso nuestro, y naturel de aquel Imperio. *Tratados Historicos . . . de la monarchia de China*, Madrid, 1676.p.1.)

The five provinces were Peking (Chihli), Shansi, Shantung, Honan

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beyond his measure, he returned the Pontiff's letter as soon as he received it, declaring himself unequal to so onerous an honour. Innocent XI wished to overcome his natural modesty and issued a new bull dated the 12th of October, 1679, to which also the Master of the Order, Brother John Thomas de Roccaberti, added his consent, but only on condition that the Provincial of the Philippines should associate with him a wise and learned member of the Order whose advice he should follow, inasmuch as he [Lopez] was one whom he knew to be perfectly upright indeed in life and character and also an excellent and zealous missionary as long as he was guided by the Brothers, but less skilled in divinity and ecclesiastical questions than was fitting for one who was set over so great a flock in that infant Church. When the second letter of the Roman Pontiff reached him in China in December, 1681, some accident of human frailty befell him, for he seems to have estranged himself from his Brothers and their views, and to have refused to accept the condition imposed by the Master; and so when he came to Manila to receive consecration these fearless champions of our faith and worship are said to have opposed his consecration with all their might, until he fled to other [missionaries] for refuge. That the quarrel nevertheless was made up afterwards, may be gathered from the fact that he was at last consecrated, when he was already more than seventy years old, and returned to China, where he was in the year 1686, having associated with him as Vicar General, not a member of our Order, but the Franciscan Brother, John Francis a Leonissa. They say that he died at Nanking a few years later with a reputation for holiness.

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and Shensi, as may be learned from the [illegible]al Bull, which says "Nos . . . te . . . quem Ecclesiae Basilitan in Partibus Infidelium consistenti in Episcopum and Pastorem, auctoritate Apostolica præfecimus, . . . te Nanchini in Sina cum administratione provinciarum Pechini, Xantii, Xantung, Honan, Xensii and Coreæ Vicarium Apostolicum . . . dicta auctoritate, tenore præsentium, facimus, constituimus, & deputamus. . . . Datum Romæ apud S. Mariam Majorem sub Annulo Piscatoris die IV Januarii MDCLXXIV, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quarto." *Bullarium ordinis F. F. Prædicatorum*, tom. VI, Rome, 1735, p. 314. The later Bull of 1679 is not printed in the *Bullarium*.

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"The authorities for his life are: [Vincentius-Maria] Fontana, *Monumenta [Dominicana breviter in synopsin collecta, de fidis obsequiis ab ordine Prædicatorum sanctæ Dei Ecclesiae usque modo præstitis*, Romæ, Tinassii 1675 in fol. pp. 706], pp. 671, 693, 697; F. Baltazar de Santa Cruz, *Histor. Philipp.* tom. II, pp. 124, 239, 279, 280, 305, 306, [309,] 311, 312, [447,] 448; F. Domingo [Fernández] Navarrete, *Hist. Sinen.* tom. I, pp. 1a, 354a;* *Apologie des Dominicains [Missionaires de la Chine. Ou Réponse au Livre du Père le Tellier Jesuite.* . . Cologne, 1699] cap. 22 [pp. 363-382].†

* The *Histor. Phillip.* is *Tomo segundo de la historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japon y China del sagrado orden de Predicatores, escrito por el M. R. P. F. Baltasar de Santa Cruz catedratico de prima en la universidad, y colegio de Santo Tomas de Manila, Prior del convento del dicha ciudad retor del colegio provincial de la provincia, y comissario del santo officio. Y le faca a luz de orden de nuestro Rmo. P. maestro general F. Antonio Cloche, el M. R. P. F. Pedro martyr de Buenacasa prior del Real convento de Predicatores de Zaragoça, etc.* Cæsaraugustæ, Paschal Bueno, 1693, in fol. pp. 502. This long title is given in full as it shows that the author must have had first hand information about Gregory's life. The history is said to be carried down to the year 16?3 (Quétif, *Scriptores*, vol. II, p. 695), but as Gregory is spoken of as Bishop, the MS. cannot have been finished before 1674. There seems to be no mention of Gregory on pp. 305, 306. The *Hist. Sinen.* is the *Tratados Historicos* quoted in Note 1, above.

To the authorities named in the text may be added Giovanni Michele Cavalieri, *Galleria de' sommi pontefici, patriarchi, archivescovi e vescovi dell' ordine de' Predicatori*, 2 vols., Benevento, 1696, and Touron, *Histoire des hommes illustres de l'ordre de S. Dominique*, vol. V, 1749, pp. 587-599. Fontana and Cavalieri, who is apparently the principal authority for the latter part of Gregory's life, have unfortunately not been available.

† Noel Alexandre, the author of this anonymous book (Quétif, *Scriptores*, vol. II, p. 812), openly suggests (p. 380) that Gregory's Letters were coloured, if not actually forged, by the Jesuits, who were responsible for their Latin form, to suit their own ends in their great controversy with the Dominicans. He has, too, the following passage (p. 365) which adds a small point about Gregory's episcopal title: "Il fut élevé par Innocent XI de sainte mémoire à la dignité d'Evêque de Basilée, and de Vicaire Apostolique de plusieurs Provinces de la Chine, & il fut fait ensuite Evêque titulaire de Pekin. Il avoit près de soixante & dix ans lorsqu'il receut ses bulles." Le Tellier, writing perhaps in 1685 or 1686 (*Défense, etc.*, 2nd ed., 1688, p. 211), speaks of Gregory as "aujourd'huy Evesque et Vicaire Apostolique dans la partie Septentrionale de la Chine."

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"Gregory Lopez wrote:

1. *Tractatus de cultu Confucio et parentibus mortuis a Sinis exhibito.* He first wrote this in Chinese at the House of S. Thomas at Chiangcheu [perhaps 漳州 Chang-chou or 泉州 Ch'üan-chou] on 12th December, 1681, when he had already received the papal Bull about his promotion to be Bishop, and the submission to him of our missionaries had been discussed. And it seems that this pamphlet gave rise to the aforesaid quarrel. For as he had always until then agreed excellently with our men and had treated them not merely as his superiors but as his parents and teachers, it seemed an intolerable surprise to them that so soon after his appointment as Bishop he should transfer his allegiance to a Gospel other than that which he had received from them, and that the worship of Confucius and of the dead which they had always reckoned as superstitious idolatry should be declared innocent by one who was little more than a neophyte. After his consecration, however, he published a revised and enlarged edition, as he calls it, of the same treatise in Chinese at the Church of the Jesuit Fathers at Shanghai in the Province of Nanking on the 18th of August, 1686. And his Vicar General, Brother J. F. a Leonissa, who by his orders had corrected and revised it, translated it into twenty pages of Latin. This Brother, a Leonissa, was a famous missionary of the Order of Minors in China, Vicar Apostolic in the Province of Hu-kuang and Bishop of Beryta, who had indeed thought the worship in question harmless or at least tolerable; but afterwards, when all things had been more fully weighed, he condemned it.

"2. Four Latin letters, which are said to be written by Gregory, have been published: I.—*To Philip Couplet S. J. at Rome*, dated at Canton, 10 Nov., 1682; II.—*To Pope Innocent XI* from Manila, 2 June, 1684; III.—*To their Eminencies the Cardinals of the Congregation De Propaganda*, of the same date; IV.—*To the Master of the Dominican Order.* When he says in these letters that he had worked as a missionary in China for forty years, he counts the years no doubt when either with the Minorite Brothers or with ours he worked as a catechist before his ordination; for after he had joined our order it is absolutely certain from the *History*

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of the Philippines, tom. II, p. 279, that it was only in the year 1654 that he returned to China with our Brothers Raymond del Valle, Victor Riccio, Dominic Coronado, and Didace Rodriguez. And as to his contention in the letter to the Master of the Order that as a Chinaman he knew more about the language and rites of the Chinese than his Brothers could do; even if it is allowed it proves nothing. For he ought at the same time to have shown that he was more skilled than they were in Holy Scripture, tradition, the Canons, history, sacred and profane, and theology, and one who after a comparison of all the points involved would be able to see and decide more wisely than the others what should be tolerated and what forbidden. But that assuredly no one thought of him, so that at best he could claim to describe the Chinese rites, and so too his little effusion was regarded as of small weight. But these things in no way detract from his holiness and the uprightness of his life; no more than it has detracted from the fame and veneration of some of the early Bishops of the Church, Irenæus, Cyprian and others, that they held opinions different from the belief of the Church, as the author of the *Apology for the Dominicans* has rightly observed on p. 381 of that book. It goes without saying that, as he had had very little instruction in Latin, someone must have helped him with the style when he wrote these Latin letters."

To this account there is little to add. The *Histoire des hommes illustres* tells us that Gregory was admitted to the Dominican Crder in 1651, when he was more than thirty years old, and that he died at Nanking early in 1687. Huc, who devotes several pages (19-26, 150-155) in vol. III of his *Christianisme en Chine* to Gregory Lopez, tells us also that his native name was A-lu.

We may end, as Touron and after him Huc did, with a quotation from an un-named Franciscan Bishop, who gives too the exact day of Gregory's death at the age, as seems likely, of about seventy-three years. He says, "On the 27th of February, after a long illness borne with the utmost patience, the most illustrious Master Brother Gregory Lopez, Bishop of Basilea and Vicar Apostolic of Nanking, fell asleep

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most piously in the Lord, full rather of good works than of days. His missionary work, his conspicuous kindness to the whole of this mission, and his extreme zeal for his holy family of the Preachers in which he had long ago taken religious vows, cannot be described in a short space. The first Bishop of the Chinese race was one whose like in the general opinion many centuries will scarcely be able to produce, and who obtained from God greater benefits for his nation after his death than he imparted to it in life, and we ought to rejoice that he has been rewarded with heaven. And yet I cannot but be grieved that he was taken from us at a moment when this vineyard of the Lord especially needed his care."

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV. J. HUTSON

BOOK II—SOCIAL

CHAPTER I.

THEATRICALS, ETC., 演戲

THE puppet shows or Punch and Judy shows are called *chou chou tzŭ* 肘肘子 because the puppets are held up in a man's arms (*chou*, arms). An ancient name for puppets was *k'uei lei* 傀儡. Another name is *pang* 棒. This kind of play is said to have been originated by T'ang Ming Huang (唐明皇) now deified as god of the theatre under the title T'ai tzŭ 太子 p'u sa. His image is worshipped in the *lao lang* temple 老郎廟 which is the temple of actors. In this temple and guildhall aged and infirm actors are housed and fed, and are buried at guild expense.

The puppets are made from the heads of coffins 猾頭 of newly beheaded or murdered persons. Such wood is believed to be very responsive 靈 *ling*. The spirit of the dead person is worshipped and called for daily, and after a time is supposed to enter the puppet and speak from the stage.

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In shadow plays, *têng ying hsi* 燈影戲, the figures are made of leather and the performance is generally held at night. The court-yard of a house is curtained round with white calico; within there is light, without it is dark, and the figures are manipulated so that the shadows fall on the screen for the spectators outside to view.

In the *pei tan* 被單 *hsi* or sheet play the actors screen off a small enclosure with black calico and display a small wooden puppet over the top of it. The puppets are worked by strings attached to legs, arms, tongues, etc. The showmen are trained ventriloquists, and make their puppets dance and kick about in most amusing fashion; the figures are called *shên t'ung-tzŭ* 神童子, because they are so smart and acrobatic, and they are probably procured in the same way as those of the Punch and Judy shows.

There are amateur theatrical companies composed of local actors or farm labourers with a gift for singing or acting, and called *têng pan-tzŭ* 燈班子. Many join such a troupe to have a gay time of running round the countryside; the rustics call these escapades *sao têng* 臊燈. Such companies only get about 5000 cash for a day's performance.

Street singing is termed *pan têng* 板凳 *hsi* (stool concert), or *wan yu hui* 玩友會 (friendly society), or *wei ku* 圍鼓, (round the drum).

The peepshow, *hsi hu* 西湖 *hsi* (west lake show) is a box with glaring pictures outside, and peepholes through which those who pay may look at the pictures inside, these being brought into view in turn by means of a handle.

Performers go from door to door getting a single cash at each for making a puppet dance up and down by the motion of a fan; *shan tzŭ* 扇子 *hsi*.

Others go from house to house with a monkey, a dog and a box of paraphernalia. Money for a performance having been paid down the performer directs the monkey which opens the box, dresses itself, and rides the dog or drives it hitched to a miniature plough.

Theatricals are given in each parish in front of the *Yang miao* 秧苗 *t'u ti* or local god of sprouting grain, in order to keep insects away from the growing crops.

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The open stage theatricals *ming t'ai ta pan-tzŭ* 明臺大班子 are almost always given on a stage called *wan nien t'ai* 萬年台 located in temples in front of the chief idol. They are got up for the purpose of pleasing the gods, and the expenses are always paid from temple funds; but the public is allowed to witness performances. The plays are nearly all historical. They belong to three periods: *ch'un ch'iu* 春秋 period plays, of the time of Confucius; *chan kuo* 戰國 *hsi* of the times of Mencius; *san kuo* 三國 *hsi* plays about the time of the Three Kingdoms. These last are called 'pure' plays, *ch'ing* 清 *hsi*, because there are no demons in them. Besides the historical plays there are others of a lower grade, such as the *fei fei tzŭ hsi*; this class is without proper beginning or end to the performances. There are also the lower grade music hall theatricals called *fêng hua hsüeh yüeh* 風花雪月 and *chien yin ku pa* 姦淫估霸.

Behind much that is unreal there is often a good deal of historical truth; for example, in the famous play *Mu lien ta hsi* or *Mu lien chiu mu* 目連救母. Mu lien lived near P'eng hsien 彭縣 in Ssŭ-ch'uan. It is said that his family residence is still to be seen. His father, Fu Yüan-wai 傅員外, had a literary degree and every comfort but he long was without a son. The wife was a strict vegetarian, and they both prayed continually for a son, till, when the husband was 60, a son was born, and named Mu-lien. Later, the mother broke her vegetarian vow, became profligate and came to a bad end; but still worse, when passing through the ten regions of purgatory she was struck by a spike and fell into the abyss. Mu-lien, on hearing of this, determined to rescue his mother. To this end he became a Buddhist priest, and by strict asceticism attained incorporation with the Buddha. Still thinking of his mother he made known the burden of his heart to Buddha and was sent by him to save her. He burst the gates of Hades with a *ch'an chang* 禪杖 meditation staff, and bore his mother out of purgatory in triumph, followed by a crowd of demons. The boatmen on the upper Yangtze declare that they are the incarnation of those demons, and the song they sing while rowing is said to sound very like a hungry demon's. They say that if they do not sing this song the boat will not move foward.

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This is a famous play, and when acted in full takes 40 or 50 days. All the details are acted, even to the throwing of the dart which struck the woman; and a coffin is always ready to receive the corpse if the throwing should be unskilful and cause death. If the actor survives, the coffin is sold and he receives the money.

It is a common belief that Mu-lien became Ti-tsang wang 地藏王, god of the lower world.

The actors in a dramatic company are as follows. *Shêng* 生, who acts the youthful scholars' parts. Lao 老 *shêng* acts the old and bearded scholar, and *hsü* 鬚 *shêng* the black-bearded scholar. *Wên* and *wu hsiao* 文 and 武小 *shêng* are respectively the civil and military student. *Tsun* 淨 takes the wise man's part.

The term *tan* 旦 is used for these who take women's parts; *lao* 老 *tan*, the old woman; *hsiao* 小 *tan*, the respectable woman; *chêng* 正 *tan*, the unmarried girl; and *hua* 花 *tan* the indecent woman, the singer of lewd songs, etc.

Mu 目 is the clown, also called *ta hua lien* 大花臉 first clown, with the whole face painted, and *êrh* 二 *hua lien* or second clown, with half the face painted. *San* 三 *hua lien* or *ch'ou* 丑 the third clown plays off against the *hua tan*, and has generally only one patch of colour, about the nose.

As to times, the early morning performance is *tsao san chih* 早三折; the chief performance of the day, between ten and two o'clock, is *kêng pên* 耿本 or *chên mu* 正目; that in the afternoon is *hsia pên* 下本, and an additional evening performance is *hua hsi* 花戲, while night theatricals from 7 to 9 o'clock are *yeh hsi*.

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CHAPTER II.

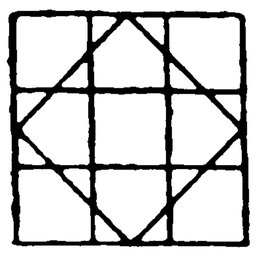
PASTIMES 戲玩, RIDDLES, ETC.

Under this heading will be found the recreations both of the old and the young. Games of chance have a great power over the Chinese mind, and the mania for gambling would seem almost as binding as the craving for opium, and its moral injury almost as certain.

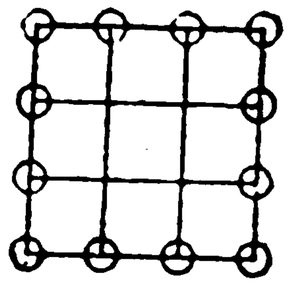
A children's game of chess, called the pig's foot chess, *chu t'i ch'a* 猪蹏叉 is played on a board like the following, which is something in shape like a pig's foot. The two rings indicate the two checkers.

Ox-horn chess, *niu chüeh ch'i,* 牛角棋, is played on a board somewhat after this shape. One person runs his checker up one side of the horn and the other up the other side. The motive is to avoid being cornered in the point of the horn.

A game of draughts, *chang san ch'i* 長三棋, played with six checkers on each side, has a board something like this.



Another game called slanting draughts, *hsieh* 斜 *san ch'i* is played with three checkers each on a board of this pattern.



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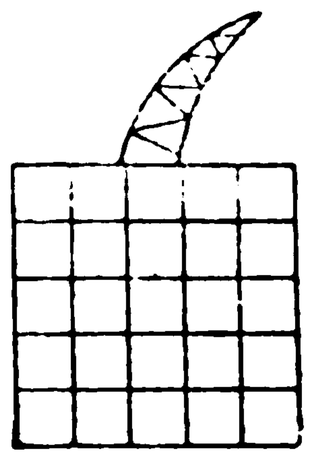

Another game, something like draughts, is called *wei lao ho shang* 圍老和尙. The board is of this pattern.

The idea is to avoid being driven back into the horn.

The most famous game of this class is *wei ch'i* 圍棋, played with 360 counters.

Common games of chance are pitch and toss, *pan ma ch'iao mei* 扮麻雀妹, in which the Chinese and Manchu characters on a cash are the 'heads and tails'; to play cards, *ta p'ai* 打牌, which are of paper, ivory or wood; to play dominoes, *ta ku* 骨 *p'ai*, a very old game in China; to throw dice, *chih shai-tzŭ* 擲骰子, using either 3 or 5 dice; to raffle, *yao pao* 搖寶, by means of dice; the wheel of fortune, *chuan t'ang ping* 轉糖餅, where sweets are won or stakes lost according as the wheel stops; guessing fingers (morra), *hua ch'üan*; and many others.

Scholars have a game of the "missing word" in a line of poetry, *shih pao* 詩寶. There is a game with cards each bearing the name of a province; the idea is to make poetry by arranging these characters: thus, 同福寧東江, 宜穎昌, 南河林廣浙, 臺貴陝雲章.

There are many games with cash, such as throwing cash at a coin either placed on the ground or fallen there in the rebound from a wall at which it has been cast, *pan ch'ien* 拌錢 and *chuang* 撞 *ch'ien*.

Or the cash is aimed at a small hole in the ground, *tiu wo* 丟窩, or it is thrown at the central one of some 16 bean-curd moulds, *tiu tou-fu hsiang* 丟豆腐箱.

A hollow in the ground is lined with brass cash, and players throw walnuts, winning each cash they hit, *ta hê t'ao* 打核桃.

A piece of sugar-cane is balanced on a knife. The knife is removed and a cut made at the falling cane. The person gets as much as he cuts off, if he splits it down the middle he gets the whole.

The Chinese have the well-known amusement of blind-folding one eye, then walking up to a sugarcane stuck in the ground and trying to drop a ring on to it. The winner gets the cane. This is called *kua kan chê* 掛甘蔗.

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A person is taken near a wall, then blindfolded, turned round several times, and told to walk to the wall; *mo chao pi* 摸照壁.

Blindman's buff, *ta hsia mo* 打瞎摸; hide and seek, *ts'ang mao mao* 藏貓貓 (the seeker being the *mao* or cat); marbles, *tan tan tan* 彈; turning cart wheels, or turning like a kestrel *ta yao-tzŭ fan shên* 打鷂子翻身; a kind of hockey *ta ch'ou niu* 打臭牛, 'to hit the stinking ox'; top-spinning, *ch'ai ti ko tzŭ* 扯地鴿子; swinging, *ta ts'ui* 打鞦; are all familiar pastimes.

Kiteflying, *fang fêng-chêng* 放風箏 in the second moon is done by grayheaded men as well as by children. The kites are in the shape of eagles, bats, etc., etc., and if one should fall on a house it is unlucky and no one dare claim it.

The shuttle-cock in the game *t'i chien-tzŭ* 踢毽子 is a brass cash with a few feathers attached; it is kept in the air by using the side of the foot for a battledore. Experts turn round once after each kick.

To turn to a different class of pastime: eagles are kept for catching birds and rabbits, *fang ying* 放鷹. The sport is so exciting that a proverb says: 'After seeing an eagle catch a rabbit the glory of an official career sinks into insignificance.'

Game is hunted with a kind of setter, *fang lieh ch'üan* 放獵犬 or *fang nien shan kou* 趁山狗. These dogs have long tapering noses and slight bodies.

The musk-deer is hunted, *shuan chang-tzŭ* 拴獐子 for the musk. A coolie carrying a small quantity of musk can easily be detected by the smell. The deer horns are sold for medicine and the skin for leather.

Jackdaws and various other birds are kept for fighting purposes *fang ch'üeh ta ts'ai* 放鵲打彩; which means gambling.

Practising with bow and arrows, *ts'ao kung chien* 操弓箭 is a sport now going out of use. So is the exercise of the heavy knife, *shua ta tao* 耍大刀. These knives weighed 80 to 140 catties, and even more.

Many pets are kept, such as the green parrot, *ying ko* 鸚哥; the Liao-tung or black parrot, *liao ko* 遼哥; the

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canary *pai yen* 白燕; the quail, *an shun* 鵪鶉; monkeys *hou tzŭ*, 猴子 which are said to be better than dogs as a protection against thieves; rabbits *t'u tzŭ* 兎子, generally in narrow-necked crocks sunk in the ground; pigeons *ko-tzŭ* 鴿子, some of the best carriers returning home from 1000 *li* or more; they are often sold, and as they always go home again good profit is made; white mice which drive little wheels in their cages; stove crickets, *tsao chi-tzŭ* 竈鷄子; and 'ocean insects,' *yang ch'ung* 洋蟲, which are said to cure tuberculosis. I do not know what these insects really are.

The Chinese are great bird-fanciers and pet-keepers, and domesticate many birds besides those above mentioned. Lotteries, smoking, snuffing, etc., are other amusements; it is a nation of smokers. Probably the dismal homes make the people love the pipe, and the crudeness of medical science makes them take to opium

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Riddles and Ditties. 謎子, 歌兒 *mi tzŭ, ko êrh.*

青幽幽　黑洞洞　十個牯牛拉不動

Of a dark green, in a black cave, which ten oxen cannot move, What is it? (A well.)

千節節　萬節節　千年萬年不落葉

With a thousand joints, even ten thousand joints. For a thousand or ten thousand years it does not lose its leaves. (The bamboo.)

金筅筅　銀絲絲　一搥打開四姊妹

A golden and silver floss: one stroke of the hammer and it becomes four sisters. (A walnut.)

十姊妹　同路要　各人頭上頂片瓦

Ten little sisters went out for a walk,

On the crown of each a tile is fixed. (The fingers.)

頭戴紅頂子身穿白袍子走路很斯文說話像蠻子

On his head he wears a red button, his body is clothed with a white robe, his walk is like an elegant scholar's, but his talk is like a barbarian's. (The goose.)

各家窩頭一個窩一根白蛇在裏頭放要死要死又掇他一棒

In each family niche there is a pool, in which a pure

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white snake doth loll. When it is about to die, just strike it a bang. (The lamp.)

生喫得 熟喫得 放在地下又走得

It can be eaten raw, or eaten cooked; when put on the ground it can walk. (Water.)

黃牛給黑牛一頭睡 黃牛的舌頭舐黑牛的背

The yellow cow slept by the side of the black cow,

The yellow cow's tongue licked the black cow's back. (The kettle by the stove.)

The flea: (A louse's remonstance.)—

尖嘴黑殼 這戳那戳 戳出禍來你跑脫

With a peaked jaw and black coat, here a rive and there a bite; when the trouble has been stirred up you make a jump and clear out.

The louse. (The flea's retaliation.)—

六脚白米 自家走不得 要怪張怪李

You six-footed white rice, who cannot even walk by yourself. You are always blaming Chang or Li.

The Orange Blossom.

柑子樹兒開白花 團團圓圓姊妹家
天晴下雨請來要 唸個佛句當燒茶

The blossoms of the orange tree, whose petals white sweet sisters be,

In rain or in sunshine how welcome you'll be

Just sing a chant and I'll bring you your tea.

Heaven, Earth and Water.

天生綉綉 地生縵縵 水生骨頭

Heaven produces the variegated, Earth begets the unadorned, Water begets bones.

Natural Wisdom.

一個雀 雀飛上坡 一個雀 雀飛下坡 三歲孩
兒會唱歌 不是爹娘告訴我 是我自已聰明多

One little birdie flies up the hill, another little birdie flies down the hill; a three-year old child is able to sing, not what the parents teach it, but what natural wisdom prompts.

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The Twelve Months.—

正月十五湯圓子　二月驚蟄抱罩子　三月清明墳標子
四月芒種栽秧子　五月端陽喫糭子　六月六來扇扇子
七月半　燒箔子　八月中秋喫餅子　九月重陽酵糟子
十月初一穿襖子　冬月間烤烘籠子　臘月三十貼對子

On the 15th of the first moon we eat sweet dumplings.
In the second moon the insects stir and we feed silk worms.
In the third moon comes clear brightness and we put up grave-flags.
In the fourth moon is the busy season and we plant rice.
In the fifth moon comes the dragon festival and we eat rice dumplings.
In the sixth moon comes the great heat and we use our fans.
In the seventh moon there is a festival and we burn paper money.
In the eighth moon is the mid-autumn festival and we eat moon cakes.
In the ninth moon there comes a festival and we eat fermented rice.
In the tenth moon the cold comes and we put on our wadding.
In the eleventh moon it gets colder and we light our fire-baskets.
In the twelfth moon comes the time to put up New Year scrolls.

The digits.—

大指拇　二指弟　中三娘　王夥契　身小巴兒子出不得氣

The thumb is the elder brother, the forefinger is the younger, the middle finger is the aunt, the fourth the chief partner, but the youngest piggie is almost smothered to death.

The Bamboo grove.—

京竹桿　苦竹桿　對門對戶對親家　親家兒子會跑馬
親家女會剪花　大姊剪的靈芝草　二姊剪的牡丹花
三姊剪不來　丟下剪刀紡棉花　紡了三丈三大哥
二哥縫件夏布衫　三哥說我心不平　把我嫁在高山苦竹林
要柴燒柴又高　要水喫水又深　打涇花鞋不當緊
打涇羅裙一千針

The green bamboo and the bitter bamboo
Were intermarried relations living in opposite doors.
The sons on one side were brave cavaliers

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The daughters on the other were clever at flowers;
The eldest was good at the orchid bud,
The second was good at the peony rose,
But though the third did try she was not any good,
So she mounted the loom to weave cotton cloth,
And wove to the length of thirty-three feet.
Then the elder and second brothers both made them a gown.
But the third brother said My lot is unfair;
You've married me up the high hill in the bamboo grove.
If you want fuel to burn, that fuel is high,
If you want water to drink that well is deep;
To wet the flowered shoes is of little import,
But to wet the gauze skirts costs a thousand threads.

New Year good luck.—

新春大發財　二十四個元寶輥進來
輥進不輥出　金銀財寶堆滿屋.

May the New Year bring you the greatest of luck,
With the twenty-four pieces of silver rolling into your lap;
Rolling in but not rolling out, till
Gold, Silver and riches fill up the house.

(Round stones are sometimes heaped outside the house on the last day of the year, and carried inside on the first day of the New Year; hence this ditty).

新春新春　財發萬金　說好就好　添財進寶.
In the New Year, The New Year,
May your riches increase ten thousand fold;
When you say lucky may it be luck,
Adding to your riches and bringing in gold.—

The New Year scrolls of the New Year feast.—

新年對子新年節　門神對子兩邊貼
門神對子貼得高　金銀財寶幾大包
門神對子貼得矮　金銀財寶幾大塊

On both sides of the door are scrolls and gods;
If the scrolls and gods are put up high,
Gold, silver and riches will come in great array;
If the scrolls and gods are put up low,
Gold, silver and riches still continue to grow.

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The farm servant.—

清早起來就上山 At the dawn of day he goes up the hill,
搭耙鋤頭把地翻 Carrying a mattock to till the ground;
世人沒我長年苦 The farm servant's lot is bitter indeed,
臉朝黃土背朝天 With his back to the sky and face to the mud.

CRIES 口號 *k'ou hao.*

The cry used to call a pig when at large is *liu, liu, liu,* 嘔留. A pig is also called a *liu*, and a man is cursed by being so called.

The call for chickens is *chu, chu, chu,* 祝. Formerly 祝雞翁 Chu chi wêng was a famous chicken fancier and breeder, and the chickens are called after him.

Liao, liao, liao, 嘹, is the call used to call the ducks from the pond. It is said to be an abbreviation of *lai-a,* 來啊.

Wa-êrh, wa-êrh, 娃兒, is the cry used to call in the goose. Some say it is *wo-êrh,* 鵝兒. Others think the call is an imitation of the bird's own cry.

The call to the dog when there is any scavenging to be done is *oh ngo, oh ngo,* 啊哦. In driving the dog away the common "hist, hist" is used.

The cry used to call the sheep is *mieh, mieh, mieh,* 咩. This is spoken in a low tone and is believed to be like the bleat of a sheep. Sometimes it is "*meh, meh,*" like the bleat of a lamb. The call used to frighten the sheep, *t'u êrh,* 吐爾, is also used to frighten birds from the grain, and is likened to the whizzing of a stone through the air at a great speed. When the cry is uttered a stone or a whip very often accompanies the sound. This *t'u êrh* is very freely called after foreigners, and is not a good omen. The connection is in the sound of the two characters, *yang* 羊 sheep, and *yang* 洋 of the sea, foreigner.

Sun êrh 猻兒 is the call used for a monkey. It means a small monkey.

Mi, mi, 咪, is the call used to bring the cat to eat its food.

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Wa, wa, 腞, is the call used to make mules and oxen stand still. The aboriginal tribes have names for each mule in the caravan.

Ch'a, ch'a, 𠱁, is the sound used when driving an ox or mule. Horses do not seem to be so addressed.

When ploughing the following are the cries used to the ox; *chuan ying* 轉英 turn round; *shang* 上 *ying* go on the sward, and *hsia* 下 *ying* go in the furrow; *ts'ai kou* 踩溝 go along the furrow.

Noises made by hawkers, etc., are as follows; the oilseller beats a small gong, *ch'iao tang tang* 敲鐺; the bean-curd seller strikes a hollow bamboo *pang pang* 梆; the condiment seller strikes a brass mirror *yün pan* 雲板; the tinker or scissor-grinder shakes clappers of iron *yao ching kuei* 搖驚閨 'to arouse the women-folk'; the castrater strikes a gong *ma lo* 馬鑼 of the same size as the *tang tang*, but with a stronger sound; the itinerant fortune-teller beats two pieces of bamboo together, *san ts'ai pan* 三才板; the pedlar rings a bell, *p'eng tang ku* 弸鐺鼓, and the vendor of sticking-plaster sounds a fish drum, *ta yü ku* 打漁鼓.

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CHAPTER III.

FOOTBINDING
THE QUEUE

The origin of the custom of footbinding is said by some to date from the Six States and to have been begun by an Imperial concubine P'an-fei 潘妃. This aspirant for imperial favour bound her feet with silken bands. By binding the toes together and the instep upwards, she made the foot somewhat like a bow; while the licentious Emperor made golden lotus flowers for her to tread upon. Hence women's feet are sometimes spoken of as *san ts'un chin lien* 三寸金蓮, three inches of golden lotus.

In Ssŭch'uan there are some places where the women have natural feet. These places are said to have been settled by people from Kuangtung province; and these feet are scornfully called *huo chüeh pan* 活脚板. Some feet have not been bound in childhood, and when older the pain would have been too great; hence the toes are simply turned in and the foot bound up a little: such are called *pan chüeh* 半脚.

When the instep is round and almost perpendicular like a horse's hoof it is called *yüan chüeh* 圓脚, round foot.

If the bandages are so manipulated as to make the heel to be part of the leg, wooden heels are put in to make up the deficiency between the false heel and the shoes; the woman thus only walking on the half of her foot. Such feet are termed *chia* 假, *chüeh* false feet.

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Those feet which have been bound from childhood have an ideal length of three inches, but many are much larger. This involves enormous suffering to the child, but small feet are a source of pride to all who possess them, and large feet a source of shame.

A foot that is long and narrow is much disliked and is called *huang kua* 黃瓜 *chüeh*, cucumber foot. The reasons assigned for the continuation of this custom are as follows:

(1) It *is* the custom and that is enough for most people.

(2) It is nice looking. These small feet are also called the *hsiang kou* 香鉤 or incense hook with which to hook the affections of the men; and the men generally desire that the feet should be so.

(3) It is impossible to find a husband unless the girl's feet are bound.

(4) It keeps the women from bad company and from remaining away from home.

In Ssŭch'uan some women make a speciality of both footbinding and hair dressing, others make a speciality of one only.

The Queue. 辮子 *pien tzŭ*

When the Ch'ing dynasty conquered the Chinese Empire the shaving of the head was made compulsory, the barber being sent forth with an official warrant to seize and shave all the refractory and rebellious; and the barber bears to this day the name of *tai chao* 待詔 or carry-passport man. Till quite recently the itinerant barber's stand consisted in a low stool for sitting on, and a high stool on which the hands could be rested: on the other side was a small boiler for heating water, and above was a short mast on which there were two iron hooks, from one of which a sword used to be suspended while on the other the head of the rebellious was hung after execution. From the top of this mast the flag used to be displayed.

Popular opinion has it that there were certain exceptions to the rule of head shaving; these were as follows: 男從女不從 *Nan ts'ung nü pu ts'ung*; the men had to conform but the women did not need to do so. Thus we have the Chinese

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women wearing the dress of the Ming dynasty while the men had to adopt the Manchu style of dressing, as well as the head-shaving. The living had to conform, but the funeral rites remained as before the occupation, 生從死不從, *shêng ts'ung, ssŭ pu ts'ung*. The people had to conform but not the priests; *min ts'ung chiao pu ts'ung* 民從教不從. Hence we have the clean-shaven Buddhist priest, and the coiled locks of the Taoist sect; this is believed to be the original Chinese mode of hair dressing. Moreover the style of garments now worn by the Taoist priests would appear to be the style of ancient China.

When the queue was forced upon the Chinese people it was hateful to them as a sign of subjection to a stronger branch of the Mongolian race. This loathing gradually gave place to pride, and the queue became a national badge, and a sign of loyalty to the reigning dynasty. Hence every rebellion against the Manchus has made the cutting off of the queue of first importance.

The queue, when worn properly, was used to indicate reverence for superiors, respect to equals, and decorum in worship. No inferior would dare to enter the presence of a superior with his queue hanging in front, or coiled round the head; and when worshipping at the temples its position was carefully noted. The following are a few of the kinds of queues spoken of by the Chinese and were indicative of character:

To leave the hair unplaited for three handwidths from the skull in order that the hair might fall loose on the neck; 鬆三把 *sung san pa*. This was for protection against sword cuts, and also in fights, when the queue was largely used to pull with. Its looseness kept the strain from falling on one part of the head.

The big queue made up of false hair and silk. Those who wear this are known as *wu êrh shên* 吾二神, and are those who have just entered a secret society. They are neither men nor boys.

The dandy of the secret society wears a queue that is dressed up with silk tassels, *têng lung t'iao pien tzŭ* 燈籠鞭辮子.

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The unkempt queue of the novice who has not entered the society is called *k'ung tzŭ* 空子 *pien tzŭ*.

A few hairs on the back of the head is called *yü mei sui* 御麥穗 *pien tzŭ* or a *hao-tzŭ wei pa* 耗子尾巴, a rat's tail.

A nice-looking queue of a youth with a long red cord attached to it is called *kua tao pa* 挂刀把 *pien tzŭ*, the sword-handle queue.

The cow's head, *niu t'ou* 牛頭 queue is worn by women of the aboriginal tribes to the west of Kuan Hsien.

A common proverb is *shên hsien yang chih-chia, hsin hsien yang t'ou-fa* 身閒養指甲, 心閒養頭髮; an idle body grows finger nails; an idle head grows hair.

The Kitan tribes, *ta-ta* 韃靼, probably the ancestors of the Mongols, have the following slang names for the queue:

The hairy lid, *mao kai-tzŭ* 毛蓋子; Tartar hair, *ta-ta mao*; the hairy tassel, *mao t'ou tzŭ* 毛頭子; the horse-bucket cover, *ma t'ung kai* 馬桶蓋; the magpie's nest, *ya ch'iao wo* 鴉鵲窩; the tadpole's tail, *ting ting wei* 丁丁尾.

[To be continued]

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HWAI-NAN TSZ, PHILOSOPHER & PRINCE

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

IT is not easy to write about ancient Chinese philosophers in such a way that persons unfamiliar with Far Eastern history will find their interest roused: it is singular, moreover, that the particular sage of whom we are now writing seems to have received scant examination at the hands of any non-Chinese: possibly, in fact probably, the Japanese may have their own editions and criticisms, as I have shewn they unmistakably have in the case of the philosopher Kwan-tsz (700-645 B.C.); but I have never seen one; nor am I aware that Legge, Chalmers, Faber, Chavannes, de Groot or other trustworthy sinologist has ever gone deeply into the matter, not to say given evidence of having read through the whole book.

Hwai-nan Tsz really means "the Philosopher of Hwai-nan," and the title of the man has in the usual way been transferred to the book he wrote, just as Lao Tsz (Laocius) and Mêng Tsz (Mencius) are used to express the traditional literary output of those two men as well as to signify the men themselves; or, as we ourselves say in a double sense, Milton, Shakespeare, Rabelais, Cæsar, and so on. The word Tsz, however, in this Chinese case is a later addition, for the

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writings we are now describing were at first, and for several generations simply called "Hwai-nan, in 21 chapters." "Hwai-nan" means "South of the [River] Hwai," and was the name of the subordinate kingdom granted by Liu Pang, founder of the splendid Han dynasty in 206 B.C. to his son Liu Ch'ang. When the first Han Emperor or founder died in 195 B.C. after all too short a reign, the usual oriental squabbles took place about the succession, which ended in a son by his "old sword"—*i.e.* the first wife of his humbler days—succeeding, under the tutelage, however, of his able but jealous and spiteful mother, who shortly afterwards murdered her deceased husband's favourite concubine with the concubine's son: this harrowing event practically led to the early decease in 188 B.C. of the young Emperor, who was then formally succeeded by his cruel mother reigning in her own name. Her reign was decidedly a good one, so far as the Chinese people in the main were concerned; for after half a century of revolution, tyranny, dynastic strivings, and general misery, China at last enjoyed a period of good organisation and almost perfect peace. But there was no such peace in Palace circles: the ultimate and disloyal aim of the vixen Empress was to substitute her own family of the Lü surname for her late husband's family of the Liu surname, and to replace the various satraps or provincial kings accordingly. Things got to such a corrupt pitch that the faithful Liu partisans at last organised a general massacre of the Empress' family of Lü, and called to the throne a son of the founder Liu Pang by a concubine: this prince was then ruling as provincial King of Tai—a newly organised half-Tartar state, north of modern Peking and westwards, to this day almost as much Mongol as Chinese.

This new Emperor, often qualified by foreign writers as the "Marcus Aurelius of China," really deserved the name; he is perhaps the unique instance during 2000 years of Chinese history of a supreme ruler who was "good to the bone." He was kind, democratic, simple in his habits, modest, a hater of cruelty and injustice, a reformer of the law, unrevengeful, merciful, personally unambitious: and in every way an almost

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perfect ruler: he never shewed any warlike or fighting tendency, or any thirst for "glory,"—whether we are to consider that last a virtue or a vice.

In order to understand the Palace intrigues which still went on during his reign, it must be explained that after the First Emperor of the short-lived Ts'in dynasty (221-207 B.C.) had shattered the old feudal system, conquered and amalgamated the greater part of China as we now view it, and effectively centralised the administrative system, the Han founder in broadly following the Ts'in lines still could conceive of nothing better or more original than distributing the old feudal kingdoms (independent under faineant religious "Emperors") amongst princes of his own family and one or two specially successful generals not of his ilk: the main difference was that instead of reigning dukes, marquesses, counts, viscounts, and barons, as under the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.), there were only Kings—nearly all of the Liu family: the single remaining hereditary title was that of count, but the counts were not territorial, and were all gathered about the imperial court, *à la suite* for any detached service. The founder's seventh son Liu Ch'ang was dissatisfied when he saw his half brother, fourth son by a concubine, called to the imperial throne; he assumed independent airs, and revolted; for this he would have justly forfeited his life; but his elder brother the kind-hearted Emperor had not the heart to punish him to the full: he was exiled and deprived of his kingly status; on his death he was even posthumously honoured, and his son Liu Ngan was promptly created King of Hwai-nan in his stead: this last-named is the Philosopher Hwai-nan Tsz of whom we are now writing.

It is a remarkable thing that when once the new dynasty was firmly established nearly all the prominent members of the Liu family were, if not themselves capable literary men, at least ardent collectors of the old literature and diligent restorers of such portions as had not been destroyed in 213 B.C. During fifty years of internecine war (255-206 B.C.) such literature as was recoverable a century later had been in the hands of a few recluses or "harmless drudges"; the hair

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pencil and a new system of writing had been discovered independently of them; or, rather, various abbreviated forms, suitable to rapid business and military urgencies, had imperceptibly developed, and the old "books" (slabs of wood or bamboo), even when discovered after a couple of centuries of hiding, were already barely decipherable. The Han founder himself set a bad example, for he had the greatest contempt for mere "writing fellows," and though the Ts'in dynasty laws commanding the destruction of all historical and political literature were soon ignored or relaxed, nothing active was done in Court circles until our Marcus Aurelius came to the throne. His sentiments were not pronounced, but were Taoist rather than Confucian, and his wife in particular, who was decidedly anti-Confucianist, owned a very rare book in the shape of what was afterwards called *Tao-têh King*, *i.e.*, the Book of Lao-tsz. In those times all serious learning and traditions, and therefore most books of acknowledged worth, were and always had been committed to memory, and as the form of script in vogue up to, say, 250 B.C., was quite obsolete for the purposes of daily life in 150 B.C., it stands to reason that all the classical and philosophical literature we possess now, after 2000 years of further vicissitudes, must have been revised during the first renaissance period of which we are now writing. For a parallel we may compare our comfortably-bound, well-revised Latin books with the awkward capitals, undivided words, innumerable contractions, etc., of the old Roman wax tablets and bronze inscriptions.

The second King of Hwai-nan, nephew of the Emperor "Marcus," so far from being suspected by his imperial master, was both a favourite and a personal friend; like his liege lord, he was of quiet studious habit, and had no predilection for war, hunting, or violent pleasures of any kind; it is even stated by his preface writer of about 205 A.D. that the Emperor directed him to revise and publish the celebrated *Li-sao* lament, composed in the rough and of course in obsolete script in 296 B.C. by a disappointed statesman of the Central China kingdom of Ts'u which had vied with Ts'in for centuries in the hope of gaining the prize of Empire. Marcus Aurelius, (*i.e.* Wên Ti, or Accomplished Emperor), was

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succeeded by his son, and then by his grandson, that son's son; this last was the celebrated Wu Ti ("Military Emperor"), under whom Western Asia was first properly discovered, the Scythians routed, and China, almost as we now see it, effectively organised. But meanwhile it had been ascertained that the semi-independent provincial "King" plan was a political failure, and the definite policy of the imperial court now lay in the direction of substituting for them viceroys or satraps removable at the Emperor's will, and responsible to Court, not only for high political action, but also for matters involving finance, army supply, inter-trade, and even local government; besides, the gigantic expenditure involved in the universal conquest of regions surrounding Old China rendered it desirable to place all vital supplies in China —salt, iron, grain, etc.,—under central or imperial commissaries.

The Emperor Wu Ti was, then, great-grandson of the founder, and the second King of Hwai-nan was grandson of the same founder, thus one generation senior to Wu Ti; he was, as his father had been before him, led to join a revolt of Kings discontented with the family succession scheme and the new centralising policy; he was out-manœuvred, and in 122 B.C. committed suicide by cutting his throat just as the punitive force approached.

It seems that his particular work of 21 chapters now under notice (for there were others) did not see public light until nearly a century after the suicide, when the celebrated Liu Hiang, another distinguished literatus of the imperial family, put the tablets in order. Hence we find that the historian Sz-ma Ts'ien, whose great historical work, the *Shī-ki*, appeared about 90 B.C., does not in any way allude to the literary labours of "the Hwai-nan King, [Liu] Ngan," whose political fate is discussed at length in chapter 118 of his monumental work. This does not necessarily mean that the great historian, who raked up all the authorities he could find, ancient or modern, in order to make his marvellous history as complete as possible, was ignorant of the existence of the Hwai-nan collection; far from it: having access to if not charge of all the imperial archives, he was probably

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acquainted with this quasi-imperial work too, but in view of the 122 B.C. event, did not dare even to allude to it, still less to make public use of it and quote it. It must not be forgotten that, about ten years before finishing his history, he himself had suffered in 98 B.C. the penalty of emasculation for indiscreetly obtruding his opinion upon the Emperor in a matter of public war policy; in the interval of 24 years between the suicide of the King of Hwai-nan in 122 B.C. and his own cruel punishment, it is not likely that he or any other courtier outside the intimate imperial family circle would have had the hardihood to praise the royal suicide, for of necessity to read him meant and still means to praise him. In Sz-ma Ts'ien's pathetic letter written in 91 B.C. to his friend Jên Ngan (translated as an appendix at the end of Professor Chavannes' Introduction to his first volume of Sz-ma Ts'ien's History), he explains distinctly how incapable he is of pleading to the Emperor for Jên Ngan; why after such bodily humiliation he had not seven years earlier committed suicide himself and how a man's soul might attain immortal glory independently of his base body's sufferings; he was so interested in creating his imperishable history,—the first real business-like history conceived in any part of the world, and probably the only one at that date with any pretensions to scientific accuracy,—that he resolved to endure personal ignominy to the last in order to complete the great historical task begun by his father before him, and to compensate the destruction of his bodily honour by achieving as a writer spiritual glory for ever.

So far from China's great historian Sz-ma Ts'ien having been ignorant of Hwai-nan Tsz's political philosophy, it seems quite possible, if not indeed probable, that he had carefully studied every line of it, and that this fact might even have contributed to his own downfall. His father Sz-ma T'an, who filled the office of astrologian-historian from 140 to 110 B.C. and conceived the idea of writing the great history, is distinctly mentioned as having advised the conquering, vain, and superstitious Emperor in 112 B.C. upon certain points connected with flamboyant imperial sacrifices; it is left clearly on record both by himself and his son, that he was

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pro-Taoist and rather anti-Confucian in his sentiments, and on his death in 110 B.C. his son, who had already travelled as a keen observer over the greater part of China Proper, undertook the task of completing the unfinished history. The Emperor's vanity was keenly wounded when his brilliant general Li Ling surrendered to the Scythian host in 99 B.C., and it was in consequence of Sz-ma Ts'ien's generous act in pleading before the Emperor for mercy to his friend or at least official acquaintance Li Ling, that in a fit of petulant passion the Emperor the following year ordered him to be emasculated. The undaunted Sz-ma Ts'ien as above stated now resolved upon the noble consolation of devoting the remainder of a ruined life to the completion of his great literary task. Like Hwai-nan Tsz, he ransacked the whole of the available literature recovered since the holocaust of 213 B.C.; but, unlike Hwai-nan Tsz, who had only drawn his *lessons*, whilst leaving specific dates and exact facts to the assumed general knowledge of his readers, Sz-ma Ts'ien left the moral lessons in the main alone, or else confined himself to a short homiletic summary at the end of each chapter, and devoted himself entirely to the task of piecing together *facts and dates* with the utmost possible exactitude. Moreover Hwai-nan Tsz timidly and carefully avoids all allusion whatever to the Han dynasty of which he himself was a member, whilst Sz-ma Ts'ien boldly plunges into the whole truth; indeed the missing chapters of Sz-ma Ts'ien's History—especially the one on Wu Ti's reign—make it extremely probable that the Li Ling affair was not more than the ostensible reason for his mutilation, and that much was said in the missing chapters—for instance about the Emperor's infatuated belief in wizards, which ultimately led to his destroying his own son and heir—the publication of which might be injurious to the dynasty.

The King of Hwai-nan is said to have gathered together at his court the men, to the number of several thousand, he could scrape together who were at all intimately acquainted with the rival Taoist and "Ju" doctrines. It is now usual, and not inaccurate, to translate the word *Ju* as "Confucianist"; but the word was already in use before Confucius was born,

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in the sense of "the literary," or "those whose doctrines were based upon the old principles of ceremonial propriety." As Hwai-nan Tsz accurately remarks in his 21st chapter, "the *Ju Learning* began when Confucius' disciples wore his mantle and revised his store of bamboo slips." In the same way the rival Taoist doctrines were in existence long before Laocius—the Apostle of *Tao*, just as Confucius is the Apostle of *Ju*,—concentrated upon one particular democratic form of *Tao*, which in its modern debased form has become ridiculous and a mere travesty. Eight men are specially named as having been in general charge of the hundreds or thousands engaged in ransacking all existing literature, or all available men's memories, in order to complete for Hwai-nan Tsz a summary in the best literary style. There was really no finished style in Confucius' time; such uncouth style as we find in the still more ancient (book of) Kwan-tsz, the boldest and most statesmanlike of all Chinese philosophers, simply means that his doctrines, (like those of the century or more later Confucius, at first conveyed to men's memories by word of mouth), were revised and put together in definite readable shape after the second reform of writing in the 3rd century B.C., and the later and gradual cheapening of writing materials had together enabled scribblers all over the Empire to indulge their ethical whims *ad libitum*: the first real style seems to have established itself when Tso K'iu-ming wrote his commentary upon the bald and utterly styleless Confucian "Springs and Autumns" *i.e.*, literally, "Annals." We see from Roman history how suddenly and quickly style had established itself in the same way and for the same reasons, when Cicero spoke and Cæsar wrote; in modern times Russian example shews us once more how in one short century poets and prose-writers of the highest original capacity can soar aloft from the welter of comparative ignorance and barbarism. Just as classical Latin attained its apogee and has never been excelled in later days, so at about the same date and during the same space of time Chinese philosophical literature attained a concentrated perfection that is rarely equalled in modern discursive times.

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The destruction of the literature ordered by the "First Emperor" in 213 B.C. took place at a time when political philosophy had been developed to a greater degree of perfection than polish of style, and his main object was, (not unlike that of the crack-brained Wilhelm II) to use his "destructive sword" with a view to rebuilding everything afresh on an organised and disciplined military basis. Sz-ma Ts'ien does not exactly speak of him with contempt; indeed he admits that his ambition had within it the possibility of success, and might well have succeeded had he shewn less personal pique, more humanity, tolerance and sympathy; whereas his immediate heir and successor threw away all chances and was quite beneath contempt.

The object of the second King of Hwai-nan, at his Chinese Weimar, so to speak, was to ransack all existing history and philosophy and extract every possible useful lesson therefrom. Kwan-tsz, Lao-tsz, Confucius, Yen-tsz, Chwang-tsz, Lieh-tsz, Wên-tsz, Sün-tsz, Yang-tsz, Shên-tsz, Lu-shï, (the real father of the bastard First Emperor) and many other authors are all brought under review; but Hwai-nan Tsz rarely names any of them, still more rarely acknowledges his quotation, and does not pretend to quote literally. Besides all these, he cites, of course, passages from the ancient classics, such as the Book of History, Book of Odes, Book of Changes, Classics of Ceremonial and Music, usually acknowledging the origin: also certain works such as the native histories of the semi-barbarous kingdoms of the south, two at fewest of which, like Roman-developed Gauls and Germanies *vis-à-vis* of Rome, had, several centuries before our era, attained a degree of administrative and even literary capacity (founded, of course, on Chinese initiative) almost equal to that of China of the Yellow River valley herself: absolutely no other literature was then known or even suspected by either Old or New China to exist elsewhere,— not even any rival system of writing. Scarcely the faintest allusion is anywhere made by Hwai-nan Tsz in his review of the past to the then newly founded Han dynasty: small wonder, considering that the Hwai-nan king's own father had lost his throne and died on his way to exile, whilst the

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jealous Emperor Wu Ti two generations later was whipping off royal and mediatised heads right and left on the smallest political provocation. It is as though Hwai-nan Tsz anticipated his own suicide. Throughout his book he assumes that his readers, when pondering his lessons, will have themselves read the works on which he browses and from which he cites or quotes; but, as just stated, as often as not failing to name his author, and indeed, often slightly modifying the original texts.

It is as though someone in the time of the Antonines should tell us in a running jumble but in faultless style, what Homer, Cyrus, Philip of Macedon, Cheops, Cæsar, Sylla, Mark Antony, Queen Boadicea and each of the German or Gallic heroes (or scoundrels) said or did on certain occasions, and draw lessons therefrom. The 21 chapters contain a complete survey of lessons derived from such history and tradition, and the object of the lessons seems to be in the main to suggest to the limited audience of studious men that, "after all, things might be much worse than they are in this "best of all worlds; it is better at any rate to live and let live "than to vegetate, mope and do nothing; than to bully the "less fortunate, neglect their wants and to live quite selfishly; "even the animals, who only differ from us in that they have "not yet discovered the art of speech and are consequently "subdued by us to our uses, have a certain equality of natural "right with ourselves, and cannot be put upon outrageously, "any more than nature in any other sphere can be forced." The weak points of Confucianism are frequently pointed out, and much more is said about the half-Confucian philosopher, Mêh Tih (Mêh-tsz or Meccius) than is easily found elsewhere—in fact the two sages are usually coupled as Ju together; but it is explained in one place how Mêh-tsz objected to Confucius, Yang-tsz to Mêh-tsz, and Mencius to Yang-tsz in turn. It is generally considered by posterity that the King of Hwai-nan was himself a Taoist pure and simple, and this is perhaps true to the extent that he quotes Laocius by specific name oftener than he quotes any other philosopher, and criticises him *personally* the least; but it must be remembered that his uncle and kind patron the "Antonine" Emperor Wên Ti

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was himself (perhaps in deference to his rude father's prejudices), if not a Taoist at all events far from being a Confucianist; whilst Wên Ti's wife, the Empress Tou, who owned a copy in ancient script, was a rabid patron of Laocius' book and decidedly a dangerous person to brusque. Moreover Hwai-nan Tsz uses the word *tao* quite freely in senses quite apart from Laocius, and even goes out of the way to show that the ancient *tao* of the earliest semi-mythical emperors was very remote from the *wu-wei* (inactivity) ideal of Laocius: he asks "were our ancient emperors, who evinced so much *activity* in the people's interests, then destitute of *tao*?" He thereupon proceeds to define the true meaning of Laocius' celebrated *wu-wei*, or "nothing doing" in our modern cant.

It cannot be pretended that Hwai-nan Tsz can be read with any comfort by any foreign student of Chinese who has not advanced to a certain independence and had ample practice in studying without a teacher: indeed, when he has advanced up to a certain point, he is as likely as not to know more than the average teacher, however good, can tell him; but there are certain quite simple matters in Chinese literature which are apt to puzzle the most industrious foreigner, just as "Love's last shift" became "La dernière chemise de l'Amour" to the bewildered but scholarly Frenchman. To say that the style of Hwai-nan Tsz is perfect and polished in the extreme, means nothing to a foreign student who has not read the old books wherewith to compare it. Kwan-tsz may contain more original matter, but Kwan-tsz was manifestly put together by several hands at dates wide apart, extending perhaps over 300 or 400 years, and much of it is rough, disconnected and incompletely or incorrectly copied. Some of Sz-ma Ts'ien's descriptive chapters—as for instance those on the Scythians—are smooth and charming reading, but his work as a whole is a mere compilation from all dates and styles; he tries to be, and generally is, scrupulously correct in matters of fact and date, but much of his pure ancient history is more reminiscent of the "Generations of Abraham" than of the livelier "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel." Life is too short for

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one man to go through every line of the old Chinese philosophers, even if the ultimate results were worth it; wholesale skipping of all unreadable or apparently impossible parts is therefore shamelessly recommended. The first six chapters of the twenty-one in Hwai-nan Tsz have probably "choked off" most of the few foreign students who have tried their hand: cosmogony, myth and astrology are all very well for those with these acquired tastes, but excessively barren and wearisome to the majority.

The particular charm of Hwai-nan Tsz lies in the chapters 7 to 20, for the last, No. 21, is simply a list of contents, and a very feeble and unsatisfying one at that. In accordance with what appears to have been the practice in those days, each chapter is called a *hün* or "teaching," which corresponds to our "subject;" thus Chapter 15 is called "The subject of Waging War," but in most cases the subject titles seem quite irrelevant to the matter of their respective *hün* or teaching, and the matter of the readable chapters is a pretty uniform *olla podrida* throughout, being a running comment, often gently cynical, upon traditions and historical facts every one capable of appreciating the wit is supposed to know by heart. It is as though John Locke or Francis Bacon should make a running commentary after this fashion—apropos of want of foresight:—"When Cæsar built his fleet to crush the British, he omitted to make allowance for the high tides and local storms, but Justinian, on the other hand, shewed a remarkable forethought in accommodating his laws to the comparatively new Christian sentiment of the period;" or again:—"There is such a thing as moral as well as bodily cowardice: for instance, Pontius Pilate could hardly have been styled morally brave, whilst on the other hand Richard the Second of England took his moral courage in both hands when he faced Wat Tyler's menacing crowd." If a student have read Sz-ma Ts'ien's general history only, he will still have a very fair chance of following the general trend of Hwai-nan Tsz's miscellaneous survey; but if, in addition, he be conversant with some of the older sources or citations from which Sz-ma Ts'ien himself drew, or if he can "look them up" in

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any great Chinese Thesaurus, he will find inexhaustible pleasure in identifying the particular point in each case. Considering that Hwai-nan Tsz wrote more than 2,000 years ago, it is marvellous to discover in reading him, how much of him is easily intelligible; how very few absolutely incomprehensible passages there are; and how two or three at first sight apparently inexplicable words, have really passed on unobserved through centuries into the colloquial of to-day. But the chief and outstanding feature is the polished refinement of style, in the sense that there is never any coarseness—Rabelaisian indecency is never found in any classical Chinese work,—no levity or *parti-pris*. The skilled official Chinese essayists of our own generation, such as Tso Tsung-t'ang, Chang Chi-tung and Li Hung-chang may have worded state papers with more precision, with more command over exact syntax and marshalling of facts, but they have never written with serener judgement on the philosophical merits.

Hwai-nan Tsz' motive may be conjectured to have been as follows: the whole of the historical, political and philosophical literature had been destroyed (so far as possible) by the "First Emperor" in 213 B.C. During the first few reigns of the Han dynasty, war, recuperation and reconstitution had amply occupied prominent mens' minds; but when the Founder's son by a concubine Han Wên Ti, the Marcus Aurelius of China, came to the throne, the "First Emperor's" law against concealing books had already fallen into desuetude, and indeed, (B.C. 191) had been formally repealed; the second King of Hwai-nan (our author) was his nephew, and shared his peaceful tastes: the Emperor himself naturally had no time for literary dalliance; but he facilitated and encouraged the inclinations of his nephew, who of course, at his own royal court, a sort of literary Weimar, had ample means for satisfying his curiosity as to what books the First Emperor of the short-lived Ts'in dynasty had been anxious to destroy; we are not told exactly how he managed it but, as already stated, several thousand men were employed, under eight actually named supervisors, to overhaul all recovered books, *i.e.* recovered from old men's memory or recovered from *caches* in the original bamboo, mutilated or otherwise. No doubt

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when the labours of these hundreds of "harmless drudges" had been redrafted in the modernised script, Hwai-nan Tsz himself revised and polished them up, taking special care that not a word should appear that directly or indirectly could give offence to the fierce conquering Emperor Wu Ti—grandson of Marcus Aurelius, and consequently junior cousin once removed to Hwai-nan Tsz.

Naturally, as Hwai-nan Tsz is usually ranked as a Taoist, most readers of this will be interested first of all to know what he really says of *tao*. That is quite a separate question from what he says of Laocius, most of whose utterances (fifty in number) are found in the 12th chapter, including the celebrated sentence "that *tao* which can be "put into words is not the universal *tao*:" this is cited twice, once in the 12th chapter as a specifically uttered aphorism of Laocius himself, and once again illustratively in the 13th chapter, but without allusion to Laocius. It also occurs in the shorter form *pu tao chï tao* in the first chapter, without allusion to Laocius. In the 11th chapter is Laocius' comparison (paragraph 60 of his book) of "governing a state properly" with "cooking a chicken properly," in connection with which the easy-going say "don't poke it about too much," whilst the uncompromising say "make sure that the salt and the sour are duly there." The opening parts of the 10th chapter again seem to employ much the same confused and vague phraseology touching the all-pervading nature of *tao* as that used three centuries earlier by Laocius. The 21st chapter, —that is, the contents list,—tells us that the 12th chapter on "the echoes of *tao*" deals especially with *tao* as illustrated by 考驗 (*k'ao-yen*) the doctrine or craft of Laocius and Chwang-tsz 老莊之術, (*Lao-chwang chï-shuh*) but this book (*i.e.* Hwai-nan Tsz) treats of nature, man and the *tao* of the ancient rulers (*ti-wang-chï-tao*) 帝王之道; and, in laying special stress on *tao*, it must be understood that *tao* embraces all circumstances and conditions, but naturally, the application of it rightly at all times can only be expected from the most highly gifted men 聖人 (*shêng-jên*), who spontaneously turn to *tao* just as the sunflower naturally does to the sun.

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The various meanings of *tao*, quite apart from Taoism as a religion and from Laocius' utterances, are very interesting. For instance in his 9th chapter Hwai-nan Tsz says, "Only to know the concrete objects in life, 萬物 (*wan wuh*) and not to know human nature (*jên-tao*) is scarcely practical sagacity 智 (*chï*); for instance a blind man may discourse on black and white, but he can never see and realise them." In chapter 18 we are told that Confucius, seeing the decay of the imperial Chou dynasty, endeavoured to inculcate the *tao* of the ancients 三代道 (*san-tai tao*). Again, in chapter 21, "Confucius wished to cultivate the *tao* of the "first good Chou Emperors "修成康之道 (*siu Ch'êng "K'ang chï tao*), and to transmit the teachings of their uncle, "one of the practical founders of the dynasty 述周公之訓 "*(shuh Chou Kung chï hün)*"; and then, reverting to the differences of opinion that developed between Confucius and the philosopher Mêh-tsz, he explains that the latter "turned his back upon the *tao* of the Chou dynasty, 背周道 *peh Chou tao*," and adopted the government system of the thousand years earlier Hia dynasty 用夏政 (*yung Hia cheng*). In chapter 13 we are told that what preserves a state is Tao-têh 道德, just as what ruins a family is unreasonableness, *li-sêh* 理塞. The next chapter maintains that a stupid wish with *tao* is better than a shrewd one without *tao*, and goes on to interpret what Laocius meant when he said of certain persons that "the tiger cannot find in them the where to plant his claws withal, the rhinoceros cannot find in them the where to lodge his horn withal": he was merely asserting by way of illustration that all things do as their nature prompts them to do: the drum does not expire with the sound it makes, and therefore may be said to possess sound; the mirror does not cease to exist with the reflection it causes, and in the same way may be said to possess images; but you must beat the drum to get the sound, just as you must blow into a wind instrument to extract music from it. Chapter 15 gives us instances from history where, owing to *tao* utterly failing, recourse must be had to arms—as though to a comb or a harrow—to restore order; as, for instance, in the cases of the two last Emperors respectively of the Hia and Shang dynasties, or

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the ruler of Tsin (573 B.C.) or the king of Sung (282 B.C.), who each lost life and dynastic rights owing to single acts of gross absence of right: the moral is that; if princes have no *tao*, the people yearn for relieving armies just as the parched husbandman yearns for rain: *tao* is alone in the matter of giving no visible sign or heraldic warning of its approach. The magpie, in dread of the wind, moves its nest to a lower branch; but lo! and behold, mischievous boys get at and smash the contents; so true is it that, whilst smart men may find safety in occasional digressions from *tao*, the simple-minded may come to grief through their excessively rigid adherence to *tao*. The conditions of ancient times were not like those of our days, and true *tao* found no scope when the "Five Protectors" (680-620) were tyrannizing over Old China under pretext of maintaining the traditional imperial rule (Chapter 11 had already made this last remark), and of forcing less powerful princes to abstain from tyranny. Confucius admitted that three of his own followers excelled him respectively in downright charity, logic and bravery; but, he said, he would not exchange his speciality of *tao* for superiority over them in these three points, because his own charity was qualified by relentlessness in some cases, just as his logic might perhaps yield to persuasion at critical times and his bravery to natural fear. This sentiment reappears in Chapter 20, when it is laid down that all things in moderation are based on *tao-têh*, whether words, music or pleasure: thus each one of the 25 chords of a harp or 30 spokes of a wheel does its humble share in producing sound and motion; Confucius is quoted as having said, "petty arts are apt to damage *tao*, just as petty quibbles damage reasoning and petty gains damage honour." In Chapter 19 Hwai-nan Tsz gives a careful definition of the famous expression *wu-wei* (don't do, or inactivity) as an indispensable part of *tao*; most people hold, he says, that it is merely the image or illustration of *tao's* successful acquirement (*tao-teh chï siang*) 道德之像, as it is soundless, motionless, incapable of being in any way hustled, etc., etc.; but *he* does not think so (*wu i-wei puh-jan*) 吾以爲不然: look, for instance, at the activity of the ancient Emperors; *they* did not sit still with their arms folded: all our rivers run east

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spontaneously and crops are produced each summer; but we have had to and still must keep the rivers in proper channels, and we must ourselves cultivate the crops; it is said of Confucius that he never knew what a black flue was, and of Mêh-tsz that his sitting mat was never warm: no! *wu-wei* 無爲 does not mean slothful inactivity, but an entire absence of self; naturalness according to circumstances and means at hand; and no perversion of the general interest 公道 (*kung-tao*); on the other hand Chao Chêng 趙政 (*i.e.*, the First Emperor, who destroyed literature) of Ts'in (Shen Si) by his final smashing of Tsin (Shan Si) in no way increased his *têh*, though he may have succeeded in exalting himself. In Chapter 14 Hwai-nan Tsz alludes to the bubble reputation gained by Kung-sun Lung 公孫龍 (Mayers' *Manual*, No. 288), the Taoist whose "gift of the gab" has made his "definitions" obscure to this day.

The subject of *tao* will be developed further under other heads of Hwai-nan Tsz if readers see fit to appreciate these papers, and one on Kwan-tsz' philosophy will, with the Editor's permission, be reprinted too by way of comparison.

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A CHINESE "TEMPLE OF THE CROSS"

BY

CHRISTOPHER IRVING

In the first number of THE NEW CHINA REVIEW (p. 89) Prof. E H. Parker drew attention to the existence of a "Temple of the Cross" (什字觀) outside the north gate of Lan-chou-fu, and suggested the possibility of this temple having formerly been a Christian church. In the third number of the REVIEW (p. 321) Mr. H. I. Harding mentions the existence of a temple with a similar name in the Fang-shan district (房山縣) of the province of Chihli. In his opinion the situation of the temple in a remote spot at the entrance to a narrow defile precludes the idea of its having been a Christian church, and he also rejects the "cross-roads" explanation as impossible in this case. Having no alternative theory to offer, he leaves the mystery of the name unsolved.

I am glad to be in a position to throw a little light on this problem as far as the last-named temple is concerned. In the course of a recent ramble among the mountains of the Fang-shan district, I was overtaken one day by a thunder-storm and was glad to find shelter for a night under the very hospitable (though by no means water-tight) roof of the "Temple of the Cross." It stands in a picturesque and secluded position near the foot of the San-p'ên hill, which

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belongs to a range of mountains known as Ta-fang-shan (大房山). The nearest village (less than a mile to the south-east) is Ch'ai-ch'ang (柴廠), which is the centre of a district said to be rich in coal. This explains why it is soon to become the terminus of the branch railway-line which at present runs from Liu-li-ho (on the Peking-Hankow line) to the village of Chou-k'ou-tien. Close by the temple flows a small stream which at the time of my visit was temporarily converted into a thundering mountain-torrent. The name of the hill, San-p'ên (三盆), is said to be derived from the fact that the stream contains three pools resembling bowls. The temple is within six or seven miles north-west of the city of Fang-shan. It is also within easy reach (by means of a tortuous mountain-path about two miles long) of the twelfth century tombs of the Chin (Golden Tartar) emperors; indeed it was my desire to visit those relics of a vanished dynasty that lured me to this region.

Until I reached the Temple of the Cross, and read the Chinese characters over the outside gateway, I had no idea that I was anywhere near a temple of this name; for the country-people, in recommending it to me as a convenient halting-place, had referred to it not as the *Shih-tzŭ* ("Cross") but as the *Shih-t'ou* ("Rock" or "Stone") temple. My subsequent discovery makes it clear that the latter term must be a popular corruption of the former.

The inscription over the gateway is unmistakable but it is quite new. The characters are 古刹十字禪林中華丁巳年九月: "The Ancient Monastery of the Meditation-Grove of the Cross, Ninth month of the *ting-ssŭ* year of the Republic"—*i. e.* 1917. I could not find the term *shih-tzŭ* ("cross") anywhere else in the temple-precincts, and it was not long before I discovered that the official designation of the temple was neither *Shih-tzŭ* nor *Shih-t'ou*, but something quite different from either. Nevertheless it is worth noting that the term *Shih-tzŭ* must be of ancient date—old enough, at least, to allow time for it to have become corrupted into *Shih-t'ou*.

The temple is small and unpretentious. If not soon repaired, its present condition suggests that it will probably

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become a ruin in the course of the next decade. It contains two halls of the usual Buddhist type, besides the ordinary side-buildings which are occupied by three or four resident monks. The first building to be entered is the Hall of the Heavenly Kings (天王殿). Behind it, separated by a courtyard, is the principal sanctuary, which contains three colossal images representing Sakyamuni Buddha and two Bodhisattvas, together with smaller images of the eighteen *lohan* and of Kuan-yin, P'u-hsien and Wên-shu. The three last are seated on the animals usually associated with these bodhisattvas in Buddhist symbology. There is also a small image of Bodhidharma, who is represented as crossing turbulent waters under the protection and guidance of spiritual agencies.

In all this there is nothing exceptional or in any way likely to attract the special notice of those who are familiar with the interiors of Chinese Buddhist temples. It is to the courtyard that we must go if we wish to learn anything of the temple's past history. This courtyard, pleasantly shaded by maidenhair-trees, lies between the two halls, both of which face the south. In front of the principal hall—that of Sakyamuni—is a broad stone terrace, raised rather more than two feet above the level of the courtyard; and in close proximity to the two front corners of the terrace stand (on tortoise-pedestals) two stone slabs bearing inscriptions. Both inscriptions refer to restorations of the temple carried out at two widely different dates, and both give the name of the temple as Ch'ung-shêng Yüan (崇聖院), which may be translated "The Temple of Reverence to the Holy," or "Reverence and Holiness." That this name is not devoid of interest will, I hope, be made clear by what I have to say later on.

The older of the two stone tablets is dated the tenth year of Yung Li of the Liao (Tartar) dynasty, which corresponds to 960 of our era. The inscription states that the temple was restored at that time mainly through the exertions of a monk named Hui Ch'êng (惠誠) whose lay-surname was Chang (張). The other tablet is dated the twenty-fifth year of Chih-chêng of the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty, which cor-

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STONE IN CH'UNG-SHÊNG YÜAN

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responds to the year 1357. This inscription, without giving us any of the details that would have interested us, states that the temple can be dated back to the Chin (晉) and T'ang (唐) dynasties. If this tradition is to be trusted, the original foundation must have taken place not later than the beginning of the fifth century of our era. The Eastern Chin dynasty came to an end in 420, and the T'ang dynasty was not established till 618. We are perhaps to understand from the inscription that the religious traditions of the locality go back as far as the Chin dynasty but that the authentic and continuous history of the temple dates from the T'ang dynasty (618-906).

Our interest in these old tablets sinks into comparative insignificance when we catch sight of the two corner-stones of the adjoining terrace; for it is those corner stones that tell us, more plainly than words could do, why the "Temple of Reverence and Holiness" bears the alternative name of "Temple of the Cross."

The two stones are practically identical in shape, size and decoration; it will simplify matters, therefore, if I confine my description to that which is fitted into the south-west corner of the terrace, especially as it is this stone which appears in my photograph. The photograph, unfortunately, was taken under very adverse conditions of weather, and much of the detail will probably vanish in the reproduction. This will perhaps justify a somewhat fuller description than would be necessary if the photograph could be relied upon to do justice to its subject.

The stone is 2 feet 3 inches high and about 1 foot 11 inches broad. Looked at from a little distance (as for example from the position of the camera) it would appear to be almost a square block; but looked at from *above* we perceive that there is a deep rectangular recess in the side that faces the north. This recess is about 11 inches deep and 12 inches wide. So long as the stone remains in its present position, and therefore cannot be thoroughly examined, it would be futile to speculate as to the purpose served by this recess; nor is it possible to say whether there is any decoration on the concealed eastern face of the stone. The two visible surfaces—those of the south and west sides—are

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those with which we must at present rest satisfied: and they are certainly well worthy of attention.* The decoration on the western face is a floral one. On a slightly recessed panel, a vase of simple shape (broad at the mouth, slightly narrower at the bottom) stands on a small rectangular pedestal; and from the mouth of the vase protrude plants which, as far as I could judge, are intended to represent the lotus, chrysanthemum and plum-blossom. The decoration on the southern face is that which appears, or should appear, in the photographic illustration. On a panel similar to that on the western side is a relief carving of a cross supported by or standing upon the conventionalised petals of a lotus. The four limbs increase in breadth from the centre outwards, and in this respect the cross might be described either as Maltese or as *patée*. In strict heraldry, perhaps, neither name is quite applicable. It might be best described as almost identical with the cross of the Danish Order of the Dannebrog—in orther words, as a cross *patée* with the lower limb slightly longer than the other three. The whole cross is over a foot long. Small circles appear in the centre, at the points of junction, and at the extremities of the limbs. The circles in the centre may be intended to represent a flower, possibly a lotus, in full bloom.

The monks informed me that, according to the tradition handed down to them, the two stones were found under the floor of the *T'ien-wang-tien* (the Hall of the Heavenly Kings) during the restoration which (as stated on one of the stone tablets) took place in 1357, and were placed in their present positions merely because of their decorative carving. They seemed to be quite unaware that the stones might be of great interest from an archæological or religious point of view, and offered no theory as to their origin or meaning.

I am well aware that crosses have been used for decorative and other purposes in many non-Christian lands, and were so used many centuries before Christianity came into existence. The British Museum possesses a specimen of what

* In the case of the corresponding stone on the south-eastern side of the terrace, it is of course the *western* external face that is at present concealed, and the *eastern* and southern faces that are visible and decorated.

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we should call a Maltese cross which was worn by an Assyrian king of the ninth century B.C. Nevertheless I have little hesitation in saying that the crosses of the Ch'ung-shêng temple are not Buddhist, and I should be surprised to learn that they could be matched by anything in the native art of China. I am strongly inclined to believe that these crosses are Christian, *the more so as they bear a close resemblance to the Cross on the famous Nestorian monument at Hsi-an.* I inspected that monument some years ago, shortly after its removal to the "Forest of Tablets," and brought away a rubbing which reveals a cross in all essential respects similar to those of the Ch'ung-shêng temple. The reader will have no difficulty, however, in forming his own conclusions on the matter, for the Nestorian Cross has been reproduced in various modern publications.* The only appreciable differences between the Hsi-an cross and the crosses of the Ch'ung-shêng temple are that the former is smaller, that it is not quite so elaborately decorated in the centre, and that at the extremities of the limbs there are three circles or protuberances instead of one. I may be reminded that the introduction of the lotus motif into the Ch'ung-shên crosses is an indication of their Buddhist origin, but in reply to this I need only point out that the Nestorian cross itself is represented as arising out of a cloud *below which is a lotus-flower.* On this subject Mr. P. Y. Saeki (a Japanese Christian) has the following curious note. "Beneath the Cross—*i.e.*, supporting the Cross, there is the Cloud. . . . This is the characteristic symbol of Taoists as well as of Mohammedans in China. Beneath the Cloud there lies a Lotus-flower (蓮 華), the characteristic emblem of Buddhists.

* The drawing which surmounts the List of Illustrations in P. Y. Saeki's recent book *The Nestorian Monument in China* is inaccurate, for it represents the lower limb as *shorter* than the upper, whereas it should be longer. More correct drawings will be found in Father Louis Gaillard's *Croix et Swastika*, p. 141, and in later volumes of the same series (*Variétés Sinologiques*), in Williamson's *Journeys in North China*, vol. i, pp. 382-3, in Cordier's 1903 edition of Yule's *Marco Polo* (to face vol. ii, p. 28), and in F. H. Nichol's *In Hidden Shensi*, p. 264. The illustration in the last-named book is the facsimile of a rubbing.

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the south; and though we have no details as to how he spent his early youth, we know that he was precociously religious, loved nature and solitude, and took Buddhist vows at the early age of fifteen. It is probable that in the course of his solitary rambles he was often a guest at the Buddhist monasteries in his neighbourhood; and if the *Ch'ung-shêng* temple of Fang-shan was already in existence (we have seen that its traditions go back to a still earlier date) he can hardly have left it unvisited, especially as its lonely and romantic situation could not fail to appeal to one who was a lover of nature and by temperament an anchorite. All this is, of course, mere surmise; but it is a tempting theory that when Ching Sung, cherishing tender memories of his old home, found himself placed at the head of a new monastery in a distant province, he give it a name which would always, for him, have sacred associations and bring back the "long, long thoughts" of boyhood.*

The third *Ch'ung-shêng* temple is one which, especially when considered in connexion with our present subject, will probably be found to present features of far greater interest than can be claimed by its Kiangsu rival; ***for it is none other than that temple at Hsi-an which is specially associated with the history of the Nestorian Tablet.*** There are doubts about the place where the famous monument was excavated in 1625; but there is no reasonable doubt that from that date, and up to the time of its removal to the "Forest of Tablets" (碑林) twelve years ago, it stood in the grounds of the *Ch'ung-shêng* monastery (崇聖寺) beyond the western walls of Hsi-an city. Moreover, it is no less probable that this *Ch'ung shêng* monastery stands on or very close to the site of the temple or monastery which was occupied by the Nestorian Christians during their brief period of prosperity

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* The life of Ching Sung is narrated in the Kuang Hsü (光緒) edition of the *Shun-t'ien-fu Chih* (順天府志), section 113, p. 11. It is there borrowed from the *Ku-an Ch'ên Chih* (固安陳志). The quotation in the foregoing footnote is from this narrative. A fuller account will be found in the *Hsü Kao Sêng Chüan* (續高僧傳), tenth *chüan* (Hardoon edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka, 35th *t'ao*, vol. iii. page 8)

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under the T'ang emperors. M. Pelliot believes that the temple marks, very nearly, the spot both of the first erection of the Tablet in 781 and of its accidental discovery in 1625.* Although the authorities on this point are far from unanimous, the evidence in favour of Pelliot's view is strong enough to warrant the provisional acceptance of the facts to which it points. The Rev. A. C. Moule remarks that "by a most curious coincidence the temple where the stone was erected in 1625 appears to be not far from the site of the first Christian church, which was built in 638." † I venture to add that it is an equally puzzling coincidence that two crosses similar in design to the Christian cross of Hsi-an should have been discovered in a temple in a different part of China which bears the same name as that of the Nestorian monument. ‡

It may not be out of place to mention that up to the time of its partial destruction at the hands of Mohammedan rebels in the nineteenth century, the *Ch'ung-shêng* temple was probably the finest building of the kind in or near the western capital.§ It was originally founded about the end of the sixth century by a son of the emperor Kao Tsu of the Sui dynasty (隋高祖), who gave it the name of *Chi-tu Ssŭ* (濟渡寺), which signifies "The Monastery of Salvation." After undergoing some vicissitudes, including changes of site and amalgamation with other temples, it received the name of *Ch'ung-shêng Ssŭ* (崇聖寺) in the year 677. This seems to have been its official name ever since, except for the period 1476-1775, when it was known as the *Ch'ung-jên Ssŭ* (崇仁寺). Although the official records contain no mention of the temple ever having passed under the temporary control of Christians, or of its having been associated in any way with

* *Encyclopædia Sinica*, s. v. "Nestorian Christians."

† *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (China Branch), 1910, p. 79.

‡ The *Ch'ang-an Hsien Chih* (長安縣志, *chüan* 22 p. 1) quotes an earlier Topography to the following effect. 案長安志皇城西第三街從北第三義寧坊波斯胡寺太宗爲大秦國胡僧立其地正鄰唐城西垣直今城西五里今大秦景教碑在崇聖寺中疑卽古波斯胡寺也.

§ 長安城諸寺不及也.....長安刹宇此爲最盛. (*Ch'ang-an Hsien Chih*, *chüan* 22, pp. 4-5.)

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the Nestorian propaganda, it is possible that it had friendly relations with the neighbouring Christian monastery. We know that, in the eighth century, at least one distinguished Nestorian priest collaborated with a Buddhist monk in translating Buddhist books; and there is good reason to believe that this was not the only instance of friendly co-operation between the two religions or their professors. It is also possible that when Nestorianism became extinct, or failed to recover from the persecution that had been aimed at all foreign religions (including both Buddhism and Christianity) in the ninth century, the Buddhist temple succeeded to the lands and buildings of its Christian rival. This would explain the presence of a Christian monument in the grounds of a Buddhist monastery, if it be true that the Nestorian Tablet was dug up in the place where it was erected in 1625.

It is to be hoped that steps will be taken by the missionary bodies or others to investigate further the history of the Fang-shan Temple of the Cross. I have reason to believe that the present magistrate of the district is himself interested in archæology, and would not place unreasonable difficulties in the way of those who proposed to carry out excavations. Anything that is going to be done should be done soon, because the temple is showing signs of dilapidation (I have already remarked that its roofs are not weather-proof), and the monks now in occupation are said to be taking initial steps towards a restoration. When the temple has been restored or rebuilt, it will be much more difficult than it would be at present to conduct investigations involving disturbance of the ground. To do the work thoroughly, it would of course be necessary to extend operations beyond the area enclosed within the present temple-walls; for although my visit took place during the height of the recent summer, when the surface of the surrounding area was covered with vegetation, there were indications that the buildings were formerly more extensive than those now existing. But the first thing to be done (and the judicious expenditure of a few dollars should effect this without difficulty) is to extricate the two carved

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stones from their present positions at the corners of the terrace, and to submit them to a more thorough examination than is possible so long as they remain partially concealed by masonry.

I may add that there is no reference to the temple or its monuments in the recently-published official list of the antiquities of this part of Chihli (京兆古物調查表). Whether it is mentioned in the Topography of the district of Fang-shan (房山縣志) I cannot say, as my efforts to borrow or purchase a copy of this work in the district-city were unsuccessful. I was informed that copies of the old edition are almost unobtainable and that a new edition is in course of preparation.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTES BY L. C. ARLINGTON

ACCORDING to the author of the *Sui Yüan Sui Pi* the Yellow Emperor's father 少典 married the lady 有蟜氏. The issue of this union was the Yellow Emperor Huang Ti, and Yen Ti. The former was born on the River 姬, hence he was surnamed *Chi*, and the latter being born on the River Chiang 姜, was surnamed *Chiang*. The Yellow Emperor is said to have had 25 sons, and only two of them, *viz.* 青陽 and 夷鼓, were of the same surname *Chi* 己; the sons of four of his wives (12 in number) were of different surnames, hence, in the same family 12 sons had no surnames! The legends relating to this sovereign are diverse as regards their origin and details. The 史記 and Annals of the Bamboo Books give altogether different details from those given by the author of the *Sui Yüan Sui Pi*. The *T'ung Chien Kang Mu* states that Huang Ti was miraculously conceived by his mother Fu Pao 附寶. Yen Ti or Shên Kung is not mentioned as being the brother of Huang Ti. The native chroniclers responsible for these paradoxes certainly cause no little confusion concerning these legendary beings. Giles' *Biographical Dictionary* and the *Chinese Reader's Manual* will suppy the curious with a choice selection of legends and fables concerning Huang Ti, Yen Ti, and a host of other mythical personages. I simply record other accepted

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versions generally believed by the people and as stated in the *Sui Yüan Sui Pi* (隨園隨筆). This is the first and only instance to my knowledge where any of the legendary emperors are credited with having had a natural father; nearly all of them are supposed to be the offspring of a miraculous conception.

* * *

Some remarks on the 'borrowed' uses of the two characters 府 and 道. The original meaning of *fu* was a library; 府藏書也. In the 趙禹傳 the sentence 文深可爲大府 proves this. During the period of the Three Kingdoms *fu*, according to the 諸葛亮傳, meant a *Yamên*, *i.e.* a place wherein to conduct official business, 開府治事; hence *fu* gradually came to be applied to an official, which latter meaning was not derived from 州 or 郡 as is generally supposed:—方漸漸有官名之意非州郡也.

* * *

During the T'ang dynasty *fu* was not applied to *Yamêns*. The first two Prefectures to receive the name of 府 were 京兆 and 河南. During the reign of the Empress Wu Hou the name of 幷州 was changed to 太原府; and T'ang Ming Huang changed the name of 蒲州 to 河中府. *Vide* 唐朝地理志. When the Sung Emperor Chên Tsung (A. D. 998) ascended the throne he changed the name of his native state 襄 to 襄陽府. And so with Jên Tsung (A. D. 1023) who was Duke of Ch'ing (慶國公). That is, 慶國 was altered to 慶州府. It was during the Yüan dynasty that the *status* of the *fu* 府, was made superior to a district. During the T'ang dynasty the empire was divided into 12 Circuits, *Tao* 道, hence the official ranks of *Tao-t'ai* 道台 and *fu* 府 date from the T'ang and the ranks of 糧道, 食事道 and 兵備道 date from the Ming dynasty.

* * *

The 頂 or 前馬 "outriders" who precede the official chair of a mandarin originated with the king of the 吳 state, who in order to "show his authority" compelled 句踐 king of 越, a much smaller kingdom, to precede him on horseback during his travels. *Vide* 國語書. The prince of Yüeh however, had his revenge. See Giles' *Biog. Dict.*, No. 982.

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According to the 儒林傳書 the complimentary address of the 監生 was originally 太學生, which form was first used in the 2nd year of 元朔 of the Han, 126 B.C.

* * *

The 文集 states that the first biography of a woman written in China was by 江淹 (Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 345), who wrote the life of 宋太妃周氏. There must have been something specially interesting about this lady when a man of Chiang's calibre undertook to write her biography.

* * *

Two curious names for Imperial Bandmasters are 都都知 and 都都統, which titles were conferred on the two Court Libationers 王鐸 and 李可及 by the Emperor 僖宗 of the T'ang. *Cf.* Giles' Dict. No. 12,050.

* * *

According to the 漢書 the emperor's sisters were called 翁公主 and his aunts 大長公主. During the T'ang the Imperial princesses were known as 卿主 and 卿停公主. A party of princesses was called 翁主. A curious term.

* * *

During the 47th year of Ch'ien Lung (1783) and again in the 7th year of Chia Ch'ing (1803) Imperial edicts were promulgated prohibiting the people from erecting memorial tablets, presenting complimentary umbrellas, or petitioning for retention in office of "virtuous" officials—generally at the latters' request. This was owing to the extreme corruption and bribery then prevailing.

* * *

The term 智囊 or "Walking dictionary" was the sobriquet of one Kan Mao 甘茂 also known as Ch'u Li-tzŭ 樗里子, who lived about 585 B.C. He is said to have had a large tumour on his neck which gave him a repulsive appearance, but he had great mental endowments. It was thus used as an expression of ridicule and not of praise as at present.

* * *

Chu Hsi was apparently dissatisfied with the interpretation of 怨慕, explained as "dissatisfied and full of earnest desire."

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Giles' Dict. No. 13,716. Mêngtzŭ Bk. 5, Pt. 1, V. 1. "Shun went into the fields and cried out to heaven." "What did he cry out for?" Mêngtzŭ's reply was, 怨慕也, which Chu Hsi explains thus: 怨己不得其親而思慕也. "To grieve at the want of a parent's love, and yet long to requite it." Shun received exceptional ill treatment from his parents, yet he is the first of the twenty-four noted examples of filial piety.

* * *

Chinese official etiquette required that all subordinate officials before taking over their seals of office on being appointed to a new post had to send in their cards at daylight for three consecutive days. On the 4th day the higher officials 上司 returned cards to all such. The custom was introduced by one 岑參 of the T'ang, who was magistrate of 虢州 in ancient Honan. *Vide* 隨園隨筆.

* * *

The term 代倩 (Giles' *Dict.* No. 699) in ancient times referred to the employment of "substitutes" to prepare essays for candidates. Ts'ao Ts'ao, who suspected his son of employing such, examined him personally. The celebrated scholar Wên Fei-ch'ing 溫飛卿 of the T'ang was constantly employed as a substitute.

* * *

A curious term for "white geese settling on the water" is 浮尼. During the 45th year of Ch'ien Lung, 1781 A.D., O Kuei, (Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 1583) was sent to inspect and regulate the dikes in Honan. While engaged on repairs it was observed that whenever geese settled on the water the dikes would collapse during the night. In the 桂海稗編 it is stated that during the rebellion headed by Huang Hsiu-yang of the Ming dynasty, whenever the army came across a flock of white geese their boats would capsize and all hands be lost. This was called 浮尼水怪. A black dog and five kinds of grain were used in sacrifice to propitiate them.

* * *

The Imperial document 檄文 "declaration of war" or ultimatum, was first used by 穆王 King of Chou, 1001 B.C.

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It was the name of the document issued to General 謀父 who was sent to chastise and terrify into submission the 狄 or Northern barbarians.

* * *

It is of interest to note that during the Sung dynasty the 赦書 or "Imperial pardon" was called 赦勅.

* * *

Another version of 三多 The Three kinds of Abundance to be wished for. In the 莊子天地篇 we find the following sentence, which is totally at variance with the generally accepted meaning as given in the *Ch'êng Yü K'ao*: 華封人祝堯使壽人富使壽人善使壽人多男. "The frontier officer of Hua wished Yao opulence, longevity and many sons." Yao, however, declined his compliments; 堯辭之曰多富多事多善多辱多男多累.

* * *

The Shih Ching 魯頌篇 sentence (Legge IV. p. 629) 新廟奕奕奚斯所作 "Very grand is our new (ancestral) temple, Hsi Ssŭ was its architect" is, according to the 重光殿賦 a fabrication. The true rendering should be "Hsi Ssŭ sung praises about the pavilion of the marquis of Lu: (僖公), 奚斯頌僖歌其路寢.

* * *

According to the 隨圖隨筆 the government tax on wine was first levied during the Han dynasty, and duty on tea during the T'ang.

* * *

The *nien hao* on cash dates from the 1st year of the emperor 孝建 of the Sung dynasty, A.D. 454.

* * *

The clay idols or gods representing Confucius were abolished and wooden tablets used instead, at the request of Chang Ts'ung, Giles *Biog. Dict.* No. 122. *Vide* the 張琮傳. The posthumous title of 曲阜令 was bestowed on the sage by the emperor Kuang Shun 廣順 of the Hou Chou 後周 dynasty, A.D. 951.

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Giles' No. 12,616 means to 'grind,' 'chip,' etc. The native lexicographers were apparently befogged as to the etymon of the character since they refer 磋 to 𥑮 and vice versa. The latter character, not in Giles, has the meaning of "intoxicated;" sound of No. 5470 and *k'ai* No. 5797, 嘅.

* * *

Giles does not give Chung Yu's (*Biog. Dict.* No. 522), other styles of Chi Tzŭ 季子, and Chi Lu 季路; nor the historical expression 季子之慈 under No. 944 in his dictionary, alluding to 子路's poverty.

* * *

| 差 No. 4304 also means to dismiss from official service.

* * *

Under No. 10,577 and 童 | the *demi-monde*.

* * *

Giles' No. 12,885, *yang wu* 仰屋, has also the meaning of "quandary," "wit's end," *e.g.* 司農仰屋, the Minister of Agriculture is at his wit's end owing to financial difficulties.

* * *

青詞 (Giles' No. 10,257) is the name of a 'joss-paper' made from the *caculos thunbergii*, stamped with vermilion characters, which was used in a form of worship in the imperial temples during the Sung dynasty.

* * *

With reference to 南陔 No. 5778. It is the name of one of the lost Odes. Whether the sentence 奉養南陔 has anything to do with the lost Ode is questionable. According to the 隨園隨筆 it refers to the funeral dirge played during the sacrifices performed by the son to his deceased parents. In ancient times during funeral ceremonies for parents a white cloth was spread in the hall on which was inscribed the four characters mentioned above. It was also used over archways at the entrance to the tomb. Not to be confused with 奉養高堂. 南陔 appears to refer to the *shêng* 笙, reedpipes and 奉養 to the sacrificial ceremonies.

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Hua li 花利, (not in Giles), means "pecuniary gain" profit, etc. No. 4120 also means to "walk slowly."

* * *

The following are all fancy names for the ink slab, (Giles, No. 13,145). 萬石君, 石卿侯, 龍鳞, 陶泓, 墨侯, 石盧中, 文池璧友; and the following for Chinese ink:—榆麋, 龍賓, 青松子, 青煙, 元香太, 元玉, 松烟, 元霜, 客卿, 松滋侯, 香雲, 青松使者.

* * *

Giles in his dictionary omits the character 遵, with sound and meaning of 攸 No. 13,388. *E.g.* 君子遵樂 "the superior man knows how to enjoy himself."

* * *

Giles omits to state that 桃李 is a metaphor for 壯年 and 桑榆 for 晚景; and omits under No. 4530 the important calendaric term | 歲 the *first* day of the year.

* * *

Under Liu Chi (Giles, Biog. Dict. No. 1276) mention should be made that in the 1st year of his reign the *nien-hao* was first adopted 漢武皇帝建元元年歲辛丑年號有之自此始也.

* * *

According to the 顏師古注, 綢君 (4163,) is is not a term for a wife, but it was the *name* of Tung Fang-so's wife. This of course, is at variance with the explanation given in the *Ch'êng Yü K'ao*. Lockhart's *Manual*, p. 116.

* * *

The same authority states that the "style" or appellation of Fan Ch'ung (Giles' *Biog. Dict.* 536) was 綢君.

* * *

Another name for the Han lin yüan 翰林院, is 木天, and 白蠟明經, 孫山外, synonyms of *lo ti* 落第. Giles, No. 10,955.

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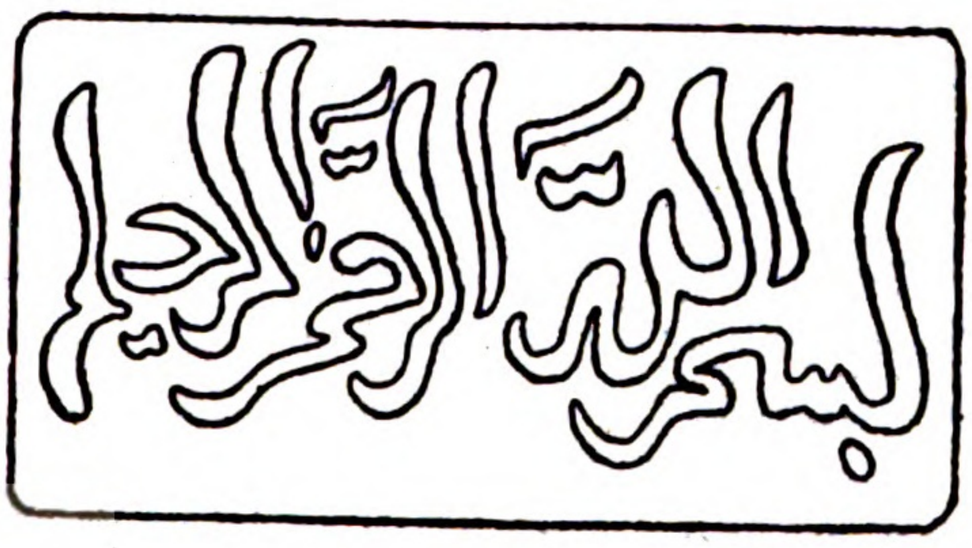
嘗食 is equivalent to **染指**, "to interfere with" etc. The following mean to "imitate," follow a rule, etc., **效人**, **依樣**, **效顰**, **效樣**. *Yang chin* **養親** is equivalent to **反哺** *Cf.* Giles, No. 9457.

A correspondent writes:—

I should be grateful if, through the medium of THE NEW CHINA REVIEW, I could be supplied with translations of the two inscriptions reproduced below.

The round one is cast on the bottom, and the oblong one is engraved on the side of a brass incense-burner, which I purchased at Ningpo in 1913.



Sir E. Trelawny Backhouse kindly sends a note in reply to the Editor's query on p. 87. Among 27,000 *pên* **本** in all departments of Chinese literature presented by him to the Bodleian Library there are a dozen *pên* of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, but the numbers, etc., cannot be known till the catalogue is published. Sir Trelawny states that between 1567, when one of the copies was stored in the **皇史宬** (later in the Han-lin Academy), and 1900, nearly one half of the work had been purloined by hungry scholars, a volume or two at a time. After the Boxer siege it sppears that a number of the volumes were returned to the Chinese by the British. The original copy in the Palace had been destroyed by fire about 1559.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; Vol. L. 1919, Shanghai, $5.00.

THIS volume is not by any means one of the best the Society has issued, and we fear it will disappoint many of its readers.

In a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society a certain standard of science and scholarship must be maintained and there should be no complaint if the articles are not easy reading for the general public. But the science should be of various kinds. In the number before us nearly two-thirds are taken up by natural history papers, nearly one-third being occupied by a single paper on agriculture, botany and zoology. Little room is left therefore to deal with art, history, literature and the score of other branches of research in which so many students delight.

The first paper, *Thirty-thousand miles in China*, gives us hope at the beginning of learning something, since the miles were travelled in a magnetic survey, but after a few pages the writer remembers how many groups of five there are in Chinese matters—five relationships, five elements, five cereals, five fingers, etc., and he adopts the device of grouping his experiences in sets of five,—which seems to us to savour more of the Sunday-school than of science. So he describes to us, five great engineering feats in China, five great rivers, five

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experiences on the road, and so on. After all, the experiences are commonplace to all missionaries who live and travel inland, and to all travellers, except that we ourselves, having travelled thousands of miles in carts, mule-litters, etc., have always found carters and muleteers pleasant companions, patient and obedient, and we have never had to force them to their duty by appealing to officials.

The Land of Peach-bloom, in spite of its title is happily not one of the natural history papers. It is the old story, no doubt old in Homer's time, of Elysian fields, "where life is ever sweet, and sorrow is not, nor winter, nor any rain or storm, and the never-dying zephyrs blow soft and cool from off the ocean." The story of the man who somehow got there, but stupidly returned to the world to settle his affairs and never found the magic path again, is exquisitely told by William Morris, but this Chinese version is, of course, quaintly Chinese. The story dates from the fourth century A.D. and is very gracefully retold here.

Metaphorical Zoology gives us a number of Chinese sayings connected with animals, interwoven with the connecting remarks of the writer. As the proverbs are all given in italics, followed by the Chinese characters in brackets, it tires the eyes to read a page or two, and we think the collection would have been more useful grouped and printed in columns without comments.

The article by a Chinese writer on *Chemical Industries in Kwangtung* is misnamed. It deals with only that crude empirical chemistry which all early peoples have known, but these little works are not what are generally called to-day chemical industries; as the writer says, the making of wine in China is carried on now in practically the same way as four thousand years ago.

Two other titles excite interest, but the articles are disappointing: *Formosa* and *Notes on Kansu*. Each is a mere scrap of four pages. If the note on Formosa had appeared when the writer made his little trip it might have been informing; but his visit was made forty-five years ago, since which date many works of real value have been written about the island, and it seems almost comical for a learned journal

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to-day to be telling us the latitude and longitude of it. The writer took a little trip three days' journey inland, stayed two days with tame savages, then came back to port.

The *Notes on Kansu* only whet one's appetite for more information about that little-known province.

A useful article on the works of the learned Lo Chên yü, is the only thing of its kind in this volume. There are several other papers, but too many pages are taken up with scientific lists of birds, beasts and insects; some obituary notices follow and a very great number of reviews, varying very much in value both as to the books reviewed and the reviews themselves.

We are sorry to say the number of printer's errors we have noticed is far too great for any excuse; there are well over a hundred which strike the eye at first reading, and we strongly urge that this valuable journal, should have more careful proof-reading. The final corrections lie with the honorary editor, who already has, no doubt, labour and trouble enough in producing the volume, for which all readers owe him thanks; but it is a pity to see such valuable work so marred by mere misprints.

Further, though we do not greet this particular volume with the usual enthusiasm, it has its place in the long series of Journals, which is invaluable to students of China.

La Mandragore, par Berthold Laufer. (Extrait du *T'oung-pao*, Mars-Mai, 1917).

Malabathron, par Berthold Laufer. (Extrait du *Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin, 1918).

The United States is supposed to take an intense interest in things Chinese, but the interest seems almost entirely commercial and political and but slightly literary. We trust they know how to prize aright the erudition of such a scholar as they have in Dr. Laufer. In France it would certainly be highly honoured. After writing this our thought is confirmed by remembering that the two pamphlets before us are in French and are extracts from two French journals.

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The former study begins with the curious account, in Chinese and translated, of a mysterious plant called *ya pu lu*, exceedingly venomous, obtained by tying to it a dog which, on being beaten, pulls the plant from the earth. The dog inevitably dies, but the plant, after being buried for a year, can be used as medicine, its effect being to produce complete unconsciousness. This tradition is found in an author of the thirteenth century.

The name *ya pu lu* connects it at once with the Arabic-Persian *yabruh*, which is known to be the plant called in Greek *mandragoras*.

Dr. Laufer examines the various references in various languages to this famous plant with a view to deciding the origin both of the name and the tradition, besides seeking the identification of similar plants referred to in Chinese works.

In the second pamphlet the writer begins at the other end, with the references in Latin and Greek writers to an aromatic plant-leaf imported from India. A score of quotations are given us, classical, Arabic, Sanskrit, etc., after which we come to possible identifications in Chinese authors. There are a dozen illustrations from Chinese sources.

Both these articles show an immense amount of research and erudition and will be most welcome to many students.

Bulletin de l'Ecole Française; tome XIX, No. 1; Hanoi, 1919; 8 fr.

Some years ago M. Ch. B. Maybon gave a delightful lecture in Shanghai on the Angkor ruins. Those who remember it will be interested more than others in the latest number of the *Bulletin*. It deals with a group of ruins near Angkor, dating from the reign of Indravarman I (9th cent. A.D.); M. Henri Parmentier, the learned author, proposes to call the art 'primitive Khmer,' and the art of Angkor 'classic.'

The subject being somewhat outside of the interest of most of our readers we only call attention to it. The *Bulletin* often has articles of the greatest value to students of Chinese matters, and we note that we are promised *Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang*, by Prof. H. Maspero.

The present number is embellished by 28 good plates.

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The New Map of China; Far Eastern Geographical Establishment, Shanghai. Special limited edition.

This map has been before the public for some years now, and is recognized as being more accurate, full and legible than anything else of its kind. The four sheets mounted together make a wall-map some six feet square which is a joy to contemplate and to consult.

The new edition is a special offer to missionaries and missionary institutions. An anonymous philanthropist has given Mex. $5,000 for the purpose, and the map, which is bi-lingual, can be had by mission boards, schools, etc., for $10 cash instead of Tls. 20. We have many missionary readers, and we can heartily recommend them to take advantage of this offer personally or for their educational work.

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